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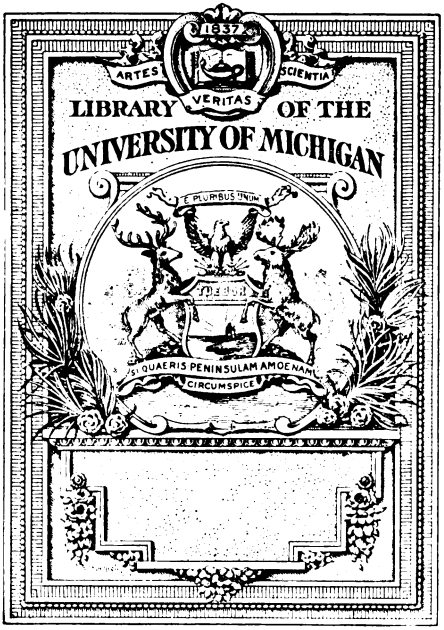
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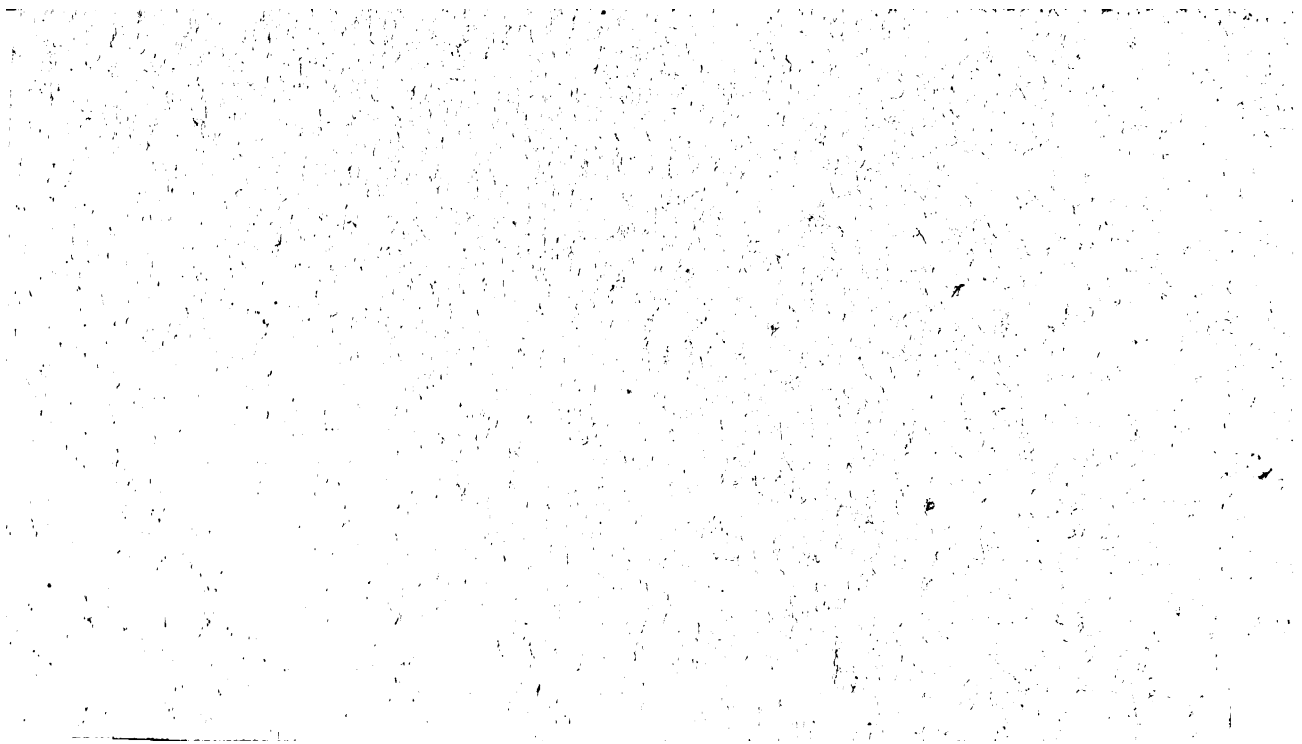

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE of SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

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A

SUMMARY

OF THE

Books contained in the SIXTH VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the TWENTY-NINTH BOOK.

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SUPPLEMENT to the LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY after his RETREAT.

CONDUCT of the duke of Sully in the aſſembly of the pro teſtants at Châtelleraut; and of this aſſembly with regard to the perſonal affairs of Sully: the part he has in the duke of Rohan's diſputes with the queen regent on account of St. John d'Angely. The queen regent's reliance upon him; and the letters which ſhe writes to him during the rebellion of the princes and the proteſtants. Councils which he gives her; and the ſervices he performs on this occaſion. He is made marſhal of France. His diſcontent with his ſon and grandſon. State of his family; and the diſpoſition which he makes of his eſtates among his children. His death. Honours paid him by the ducheſs of Sully. His tomb and epitaph. An account of his domeſtic conduct, and of his private life. Occupations of the ducheſs his wife. The duke of Sully's ſentiments upon religion. His public and private buildings.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXIX.

THAT which had just passed with respect to Cleves, and the conduct of the queen regent with respect to me, took from me at length all hope of bringing back the court to its just notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs and the management of the finances: on the contrary, the changeableness of the prince, what I saw daily pass before my eyes, and, above all, the air of dissimulation which in the last place they had recourse to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confusion in which the affairs of the council seemed to be lost, but by such an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about, some time was necessary; for connections so strong and so well cemented as those which the king had formed for the destruction of the house of Austria, with all those of the princes interested in its destruction, are not broke all at once, nor sometimes without a struggle which has mischievous consequences. But I have no reason to doubt but that the queen regent and her counsellors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all protestants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, strengthened by habit, to unite with

Spain, every impulse of which they could not help following publicly, when, the designs of Henry the Great becoming manifest, they were convicted of supporting a cause at once odious and desperate: it could not be expected that the force of these motives was abated, when, by an unexpected stroke, they found themselves upon the point of accomplishing what they had so ardently desired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at least the certain effect would have been the free exercise of the protestant religion in France, and in all Christendom, even the death of that prince, which seemed to declare me the only repository of his sentiments, and the executor of his designs, all the glory and honour of which must necessarily reflect upon me: these were their motives for hatred against a man who had already so many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroi took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a speedy effect.

ANOTHER, less openly declared, but probably stronger than all the others, because it directly attacked those private interests, united them all a second time against me. This was a too exact and too impartial administration of the finances, for persons whose avarice had already, in imagination, engrossed to themselves all the treasures of the late king. I have, on this head, an infinite number of circumstances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpose to be silent, since they are generally known. The reader then may here see some of the most important of them: they will serve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I SHALL begin with the favourite of the queen regent. He cast his eyes at first upon the post of first gentleman of the bedchamber, not that this dignity was capable of satisfying his ambition, but it was necessary to begin by obtaining a rank which might

might take away the diſproportion that had hithert been between him and the other courtiers. To th motive was added ſome perſonal reſentment again Bellegarde, the cauſe of which I ſhall not relate, b cauſe it would lead me into too long a diſcuſſio It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchi that the firſt ſtep he was ſeen to take at cour ſhould put him upon a par with his rival*: h therefore cauſed it to be propoſed to the duke Bouillon, to treat with him for this poſt. Bouillo who really intended to ſell it, readily accepted t propoſal, and was well paid for his compliance for, in the firſt place, he obtained a ſuppreſſion of t offices eſtabliſhed by his majeſty in the neighbou hood of Sedan, for levying taxes upon all goods a merchandizes exported and imported; ſo that t gratuity may, without exaggeration, be ſaid to worth more to him than his whole principality. T this Conchini added two hundred thouſand livr under a pretence that he had been promiſed t ſum upon ſurrendering his city. I repreſented them that the duke of Bouillon had been exac paid all that was promiſed him; and, if they look into the account, they would be convinced of but what I ſaid was not regarded, and all the e pence Henry had been at to get poſſeſſion of Sed ended in paying twice for the place, which, after was ſtill in Bouillon's hands.

CONCHINI, however, did not effect his purp ſo eaſily as he had imagined: the count of Soiſſo as I have already hinted, oppoſed him, as well that, as in his ſolicitations for the archbiſhopric Tours; but he did it in ſuch a manner as left h room to hope there was a poſſibility of gaining hi and Conchini ſoon found the means. He cauſed

* The marquis of Ancre (for ſo he began then to be called) a difference with the maſter of the horſe, the particulars wh may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of the Regency of queen Mary de dicis.

government of Normandy to be given to him, and this end did not ſcruple to take it away from the ſ cond ſon of France. The late king, that he mig avoid creating any jealouſy among thoſe who aſpi ed to this government (which I had refuſed with tl condition of changing my religion annexed to i and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deſerv that he ſhould have this conſideration for him, h beſtowed it upon his own ſon. It was not poſſib for me to give my aſſent to this action of Concchini or to the gratuity given by the council to the cou of Soiſſons, at his majeſty's expence, by purchaſin at a high price ſome very inconſiderable claims whic the houſe of Montaffie had in Piedmont, of whic mention has been already made However, notwitl ſtanding all my remonſtrances, the bargain was co cluded. It was now their cuſtom to ſuffer me talk, but to act without me.

CONCHINI found out a method to diſpoſe of pa of the king's treaſures, without its appearing th the ſums raiſed by thoſe means were received or em ployed for his uſe. This was by perſuading th queen to continue the iſſuing of comptants † as th late king was uſed to do. She wrote the followin letter to me upon this occaſion, dated the 15th June:

" COUSIN,

" I AM reſolved, for one year more, to continu " the comptants for the payment of thoſe ſum " which the late king, my lord, ordered the trea " ſurers of the exchequer to depoſite in his priv

† The comptants were orders for payment of money, or receip for ſums paid by the king's order, without ſpecifying in what mar ner the money ſo paid was employed. Henry IV. and Lewis XII or their miniſters, ſeverely felt the abuſes that might be made them; but an infinite number of expences, which intereſt of ſtate re quired to be kept ſecret, prevented their being aboliſhed. Cardina de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereo to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private ex pences, and to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. Teſt. Polit. Part I p. 143.

" purſe

" purſe: Beringhen ſhall diſtribute the money ari-
" ſing from hence, to the ſame perſons as formerly.
" I therefore ſend this to acquaint you, that it is
" my deſire you ſhould direct the treaſurer of the
" exchequer at preſent in office, to pay into the
" hands of the aforeſaid Beringhen the ſaid comp-
" tant for the July-quarter."

THE next day Puget and D'Argouges brought one of theſe comptants to me that I might ſettle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the firſt glance did not obſerve that it contained any thing but a great number of ſums which the late king cauſed to be paid in this form: but the amount of the whole appearing to me to be exceſſive large, inſtead of looking any farther, I told the bearers, that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. ſeemed to authoriſe this form, but that at preſent this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a ſufficient diſcharge to him who ſhould venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that, if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I ſhould find my objection removed by a diſcharge ſo valid, that I need not have recourſe for it to any other perſon. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper, which ſeemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a comptant, and that not very long, ſhould produce a ſum of nine hundred thouſand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen ſols, which I had ſeen by caſting my eyes upon the ſum total. My curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied. The two or three firſt articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleaſed, and which ſeemed only inſerted there, in order to prepare me for a morſel ſtill harder to digeſt. This was a ſingle article of four hundred thouſand livres, with no other explanation than theſe few words, which were not very likely to baniſh my ſcruples: " Paid into the hands of the late " king."

I STOPPED ſhort, and, looking earneſtly u Puget, aſked him whether this ingenious trick of his own invention; then reſolutely told him, the late king had never taken up ſo much mone once for his private purſe; and that I had g proofs of his having never received this ſum, eit in part or the whole. He ſtill continued to anſ with the ſame indifference, That what I ſhould at the bottom would remove all difficulties. T was four or five lines, written by the queen herſ and in theſe terms: "We have examined the "ticles of the above comptant, amounting to n "hundred thouſand two hundred and ten liv "and fourteen ſols; and know that this ſi "was really diſburſed by the command of the l "king, my lord, to be paſſed in the form of "comptant, as uſual, which he was prevented fro "by death. We are ſatisfied that the ſaid articl "are all juſt, and order an acquittance of compta "to be expedited, to ſerve as a diſcharge for Puge "treaſurer of the exechequer. Given at Pari "July 16, 1610, ſigned Mary."

IT did not immediately occur to me what reſolu tion it was proper for me to take; but, after a mo ment's reflection, "Monſieur Puget, ſaid I, what "have read does not explain to me for what reaſo "ſo large a ſum is demanded of me; for I can neve "be perſuaded that the late king received it. It i "in vain therefore, that you preſs me to ſign it up "on that ſuppoſition: you muſt therefore be ſatisfie "with this paper, ſuch as it is, for your diſcharge; "for you may depend upon it, I will add nothing "to it." The affair did not reſt there: they re-newed their endeavours to obtain my ſignature with as much obſtinacy as I refuſed it; for two whole days I was perſecuted about this comptant: at laſt they left me in quiet, and it remained among the reſt of my papers; but neither the queen regent or Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought this

but

but a bad example for thoſe whom he was endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his deſires: as for the queen, her reſentment at my conduct on this occaſion was ſo great, that ſhe could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if, till then, ſhe had at times made ſome ſlight reflections upon what the king her husband had often ſaid to her, of the great uſe I ſhould be to her in the adminiſtration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was eraſed, and gave place to a ſettled reſolution to beſtow my employments upon a perſon who would be more tractable.

THE chancellor gave me an example of that ſort of behaviour they expected; but, inſtead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occaſion of a letter of exemption for the purchaſe of the regiſtry of the parliament, and of the Châtellet of Paris, which was ſhown in full council, as having been expediated and ſealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obſtinately refuſed to grant it, notwithſtanding Villeroi had, at different times, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains, that, when the king dies, his ſeal ſhall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make uſe of it to authenticate ſeveral falſe regulations in favour of Conchini and ſome others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demiſe, for which he had a double conveniency, as his ſon, who was ſecretary of ſtate, forged all thoſe writings, which he put the laſt hand to. Monſieur the admiral* received the aſſiſtance it gave him as if it came from heaven. He brought to be regiſtered in the parliament letters patents for duke and peer for the lordſhip of Damville in as good, and perhaps better form than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living.

* Charles de Montmorency, duke of Damville.

I FIND a ſecond letter from the queen regent the ſame date with the former, but it was on a ſi ject of leſs importance. It related to a breach whi was to be repaired in the fortifications lately rai before the city and caſtle of Vendôme, at the de of the ſieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it.

IT would have been very difficult, expoſed a was to frequent quarrels with the miniſters and r bles, to have avoided one with the duke of Bouill who on all occaſions gave me proofs that he had forgot or pardoned my having always preferred king's intereſt to his, and who only waited for ſo opportunity to ſhew his reſentment of it. He c day propoſed in the council, that all thoſe who w in poſſeſſion of the chief offices and employments the kingdom, ſhould be required to give in accou of receipt and expence, to be examined there. T council received this propoſal in the ſame ſpirit w him that made it; for, general as it ſeemed, ye was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon underto to give me notice of it, by ſaying to me, in full co cil likewiſe, that, being a man who loved metl and exactneſs, and who was always deſirous of ting others a good example, he did not doubt, that I would begin, by laying before the cou thoſe accounts that related to my poſt of grand m ter of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent manner which poſſibly he did not expect, that wh ever the king and queen were pleaſed to require I would lay my accounts before them, and with much the more willingneſs, as I was well aſſu they would find nothing in them but what wo be to their ſatisfaction, and my honour: that, i minority, the princes of the blood repreſented king's perſon likewiſe, therefore I would give th the ſame ſatisfaction; but that I was too well quainted with the extent of the rights and privile of my employment, not to know that, to make accountable to any other tribunal, was to debaſe

" Monſie

"Monſieur, replied the duke, it appears to me that "the conſtable and the marſhals of France having "a right to take cognizance of all affairs of the ar- "my, as they fall immediately under their inſpec- "tion by the nature of their offices, ſo they may "likewiſe of all poſts and employments relating to "it; and yours is one of the chief of that kind." "I ſee plainly, Monſieur," returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my reſentment at this pro- cedure, "that you have long deſigned me this af- "front, and that you are artfully ſeeking to ſup- "port yourſelf with M. the conſtable, whoſe qua- "lity, merit, and years, I honour and eſteem, and "for whoſe friendſhip I am greatly obliged. I do "not apprehend that any diſpute will ariſe between "him and I upon this matter; but as for you, and "all the others, I declare that I do not think my- "ſelf accountable to you in what regards my office, "but to the king alone." "At leaſt, Monſieur, "replied the duke of Bouillon, you muſt acknow- "ledge, that, your patent being directed to us, it "implies that we have ſome degree of authority "there." "Monſieur, ſaid I, you have either "read it very ſlightly, or but ill underſtood what "you read, ſince, if what you aſſert be true, I am "likewiſe accountable to the mayors, the ſheriffs, "and the captains of the city-gates, in what re- "gards my employments, ſince the patent is direct- "ed to them as well as to the marſhals and gover- "nors of France; but, if you are really ignorant "why thoſe clauſes are inſerted, now know from "me, that it is in order that I may be aſſiſted by "all thoſe perſons in whatever I require of them, "which carries rather an idea of ſuperiority than "the contrary."

THE queen, who found that the diſpute was growing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel between us, impoſed ſilence upon us both, and

brought another queſtion upon the carpet. Bouillon flattery to the conſtable miſſed of the effect he pro poſed by it; for I was as much beloved by that nobl man for the ſervices I had done him in ſome ver difficult circumſtances, as Bouillon, who had draw him into thoſe circumſtances, was diſliked by hin When the council broke up, he told the queen i Bouillon's preſence, that his claim was ill founded then, addreſſing himſelf to the duke, he entreate him not to make any more attempts to engage hi in his perſonal reſentments and ſchemes of revenge This quarrel made a great noiſe at court, becau the friends of each party thought it incumbent upo them to engage in it. It was not here as in th council: my party was now greatly ſuperior to hi The familles of Guiſe, Longueville, and man others, declared themſelves openly for me.

Nor did Conchini and his wife continue long t be in good intelligence with the miniſters and th other chief perſons of the ſtate. It is the fate c connections, produced by a ſpirit of intereſt, tha the ſame cauſe which gave them birth, deſtroys ther with the greater facility. Hence followed a thouſan ſcandalous ſcenes: they came openly to reproache and abuſes, which, from ſome remains of decency ſhould have been ſtifled. As the whole court wa actuated by the ſame ſpirit, it was ſoon filled wit hatred, jealouſy, and faction; none but baſe c criminal methods were employed in diſputing fo favours or in obtaining them; ſome old grudge o ſome new reſentment embittered every mind, an the bloodieſt cataſtrophes were often apprehende among perſons of the higheſt rank: it became neceſ ſary to watch them continually, to prevent the fata effects of their quarrels. The public was not ig norant of the motives which animated one againſ the other, all the princes of the blood, the conſtable the maſter of the horſe, the duke of Epernon, an

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many more. In theſe diſſentions Conchini had always the greateſt part*; ſometimes, while the ballance was held between theſe illuſtrious rivals, the favours they diſputed for fell into the hands of mean inconſiderable perſons. Diſcord, confuſion, injuſtice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of ſubordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the inſulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domeſtic enemies, by thoſe very means which they had made choice of to revenge themſelves.

THERE was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambaſſadors, acquit themſelves of what they owed to this great king: but it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh among them, thoſe who were more ſincere in their compliments of congratulation for the acceſſion of the new king to the throne than in thoſe of condolence for the loſs of him whom he ſucceeded. There were found Frenchmen baſe enough to ſay to the ambaſſadors from the king of Spain and the archduke, theſe very words: "Your tears need "not wet your handkerchiefs much; it was a ſtroke "of providence that ſaved the king and the catholic "religion from ruin." I ſhall ſay nothing of the reception that was given to theſe ambaſſadors.

MY heart was too much removed from every ſenſation of joy, to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation †; therefore, while every other took the road to Rheims, I ſet out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permiſſion to go to one of my country-houſes. I carefully concealed my deſign of not returning again to Paris, at leaſt while I ſaw the ſame diſpoſitions among the courtiers, and the ſame diſorder in affairs: but I had really taken this reſolution, which was

* See the detail of theſe intrigues and court-quarrels in Siri, Vol. II. p. 327, and in the ſame hiſtorians.

† The ceremony is very minutely deſcribed in the Merc. Franç. the Royal MSS. P. Matthieu, &c. anno 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

confirmed by my being attacked with a violent ill
neſs immediately after I arrived at Montrond, an
which I could attribute to no other cauſe, but t
the painful ſituation my heart had been in for fou
months. It was here alſo, that, to calm the per
turbations of my mind, I compoſed thoſe two litt
pieces of poetry; one of which is entituled, A Pa
rallel between Cæſar and Henry the Great, and th
other, An Adieu to the court *.

If this adieu was not the laſt, it was not m
fault: I ſaw very plainly that I could not remai
there. The ſecret council held at the houſe of th
nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was con
tinually recurring to my mind. To this I adde
ſome words which a princeſs, my relation and m
friend, told me ſhe had heard ſaid to the queen
the ſame time. Many other circumſtances of th
nature filled my mind with the ſtrongeſt forebodin
that the whole proteſtant church was at the eve
a perſecution. By a letter which Préaux wrote
me from Châtellerault, dated November 10, he ſeem
ed to be of the ſame opinion; "Already ſays he,
"fancy I ſee the theatre raiſed to renew our tr
"gedies." With this melancholy expectation, m
reſolution was already ſettled, to diſpoſe of all m
employments to thoſe perſons who ſhould be recon
mended to me by Conchini and his wife, as mone
ſeemed to be cheapeſt with them. I intended to ſen
one third of the ſums raiſed by theſe ſales to Switze
land, another to Venice, and another to Hollan
where I propoſed to retire myſelf, when the ſtor
appeared ready to break out, with all the mone
that by good œconomy I had ſaved out of my year
revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and th
I made any alteration in this plan, was owing to th
following circumſtance.

That jealouſy and miſunderſtanding which ſub
ſiſted among the nobles and perſons in office, rende

* Theſe pieces are recited in Sully's Memoirs, at the end of th
laſt volume, p. 469.

ed the ceremony of the coronation ſo tumultuous and diſorderly, that it was expected ſome dangerous conſequences would follow. I do not ſpeak here of their diſputes for rank and precedence only. The duke of Epernon, although for ſome years paſt, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the duke of Eguillon, uſed language to him equally ſevere, injurious, and threatening, and this in public. The duke of Nevers, ſupported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroi, Sillery, and Jeannin, in the ſame manner: they were ſeized with conſternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtleſs, felt they were not innocent enough to repel theſe reproaches; and now began to be ſenſible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous conſequences, if the princes and nobles were ſuffered to go on in reproving the miniſters of ſtate. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the reſpect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners, had acquired me in the council; and they ſo earneſtly ſolicited the queen to make uſe of her influence over me, to oblige me to return, that ſhe ſent me, by an expreſs, the following letter.

"COUSIN,

"THE coronation of the king, monſieur my ſon, "being happily performed at Rheims, we ſhall, in "a ſhort time, ſet out for Paris; and becauſe many "affairs that require your preſence, on account of "your employments, and the great abilities you "have ſhewn in the exerciſe of them, will be tranſ-"acted the latter end of this year, and the begin-"ning of the next, I deſire you will return to "Paris with all poſſible haſte, that we may find you "there upon our arrival. So, in full aſſurance that "you will not fail, I beſeech God, &c. Written "at Rheims, October 6, 1610.

"Your good couſin,

"MARY."

I IMAGINED, that by eluding this journey the preſent, they would think no more of it; the fore my anſwer to the queen was conceived in th terms:

"MADAM,

"MY inclination, my duty, and the honour y "do me, by remembring me, are all motives equ "ly ſtrong to engage my obedience to your m "jeſty's commands; but a dangerous illneſs, fr "which I am but lately recovered, has left me "ſo weak a condition, and the certain knowle "I have, that my preſence in the council is "agreeable to ſeveral perſons, who have m "authority there than I have, oblige me moſt hu "bly to intreat you, not to be offended that I de "going to court till I have recovered my ſtreng "and that when I do attend your majeſty there, "will permit me, before thoſe perſons whom "ſhall pleaſe to appoint, to give you an acco "of my adminiſtration, to lay before you "ſtate in which I leave the affairs of the ki "dom, and the form I think neceſſary to "obſerved to keep them in the ſame order "tranquility they are now. I muſt beg y "majeſty to believe that this will be the ſole "of my journey, and that I have no inten "or deſire to concern myſelf any farther in "adminiſtration of affairs. I believe I have ſet "every thing relating to my employments in t "a manner, as the ſecretaries of the Exche "and the other officers can certify to your maje "that my preſence may be diſpenſed with till "latter end of the year; at which time, if "health will permit me, I ſhall not fail to g "Paris, to pay all poſſible obedience to the ki "commands and yours; and upon this truth "beſeech the Creator, &c. From Montre "October 12, 1610."

THIS was not what the queen propoſed to he

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from the ſtep ſhe had taken to recall me; ſhe perceived, that by delaying my return to court, I was only forming excuſes for appearing there no more; or that if I did come, the part I ſhould play there would not be very proper to oblige thoſe who had deſerted her favourite, again to ſolicit his friendſhip, which was all ſhe had in view; and to effect this, ſhe made uſe of all my friends *, my wife, my ſon, and my ſon-in-law particularly: ſhe began by an inſinuating and gracious behaviour to them; ſhewed ſuch an unreſerved confidence in me, added ſo many kind expreſſions, and promiſes ſo flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief, that I ſhould commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards ſent them, one after the other, to me, charged with the moſt obliging letters, and the fulleſt aſſurances of her favour and eſteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them ſenſible, that all this was deep art on the queen's ſide; their ſolicitations, their intreaties, became perſecution, which at length fatigued me ſo much, that being deſirous of avoiding reproaches, to which I ſaw no end, and conſidering likewiſe that my compliance with requeſts thus earneſtly urged, would expoſe me to no inconveniences for the preſent, I reſolved to throw myſelf, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the ſnare that were laid for me at court, and again poſtponed the execution of my firſt deſign.

I THEREFORE ſet forward to Paris, but ſhewed no great eagerneſs to get there, ſince I did not reach that city till the ſixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my reſpects to the king and

* "Bouillon had orders to go to him (M. de Sully) at Paris, at his "return from his country-ſeat, and to aſſure him of the queen's re-"gard for him, and that ſhe would place the ſame confidence in him "the late king had. He accepted the queen's offer, &c." Hiſt. de la Mere et du Fils, vol. p. i. 112.

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the queen regent, I was informed, that the k
would paſs the whole forenoon in the Tuiller
and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I
not doubt but that my attending her there wo
be very acceptable to her; and indeed ſhe recei
me in the moſt gracious manner imaginable:
ſeveral times repeated, with an air of freedom
even pleaſure, by which I myſelf was almoſt impe
upon, that ſhe would follow no other counſels
mine. She entreated me to attach myſelf to
ſon, as I had done to the late king: ſhe told
that ſhe would not ſuffer me to lay down my empl
ments; that ſhe would take ſuch meaſures, tha
ſhould execute them in an abſolute independen
and deſired me to begin with the accounts of
finances for the year 1611, as I uſed to do; non
the miniſters having ſhewn themſelves willing
take this care upon them during my abſence, and
herſelf being deſirous that I ſhould continue to
charge it. The queen continued her diſcourſe
dinner was ſerved: I can relate only a ſmall par
it. When ſhe roſe from table, ſhe entertained
with the diſputes that had happened during the c
nation: ſhe informed me, that the nobles had m
an infinite number of demands, but that ſhe
reſolved to conclude nothing till my return: h
ever, ſhe avoided ſaying any thing particular
this head, but only told me, that ſhe would tall
me more fully the firſt opportunity, and would
me know what were the ſervices ſhe required of
on this occaſion: theſe words ſeemed wholly
from reſerve. The whole court appeared ſo
that it was but too probable this ſerious converſa
was extremely diſagreeable; accordingly it
place to others more common; and at three o'c
the queen returned to the Louvre.

I WENT thither the next day, to pay my reſp
to the king, to the princes his brothers, and
princeſſes his ſiſters. This part of the court

ſtill untainted; the governeſſes, the nurſes, the other women and officers, which compoſed the houſhold of theſe young princes, formed a kind of ſeparate people, to whom the memory of king Henry was ſtill dear: the ſource of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up; I wept with them, while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impreſſion upon my mind, by the friendſhip Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father, to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myſelf of what I owed him. Their intreaties and their tenderneſs could add nothing to thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increaſe my power of ſerving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I diſcovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king, ſtrong indications of thoſe happy diſpoſitions which time has ſince ripened and diſcloſed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged, heaven would not give a long life to the ſecond of theſe princes †.

I WAS viſited by almoſt the whole court, with all thoſe falſe ſhews of friendſhip, thoſe praiſes and civilities, which never ſo nearly reſemble the true, as when the heart has the leaſt ſhare in them. Conchini, who had taken care to have it inſinuated to me by Zamet and D'Argouges, that he was the perſon to whom I was moſt obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I ſhould acknowledge this favour, by making him a compli-

† This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and a half: a quantity of water was found in his head; the too great thickneſs of the ſkull ſtopping the perſpiration in that part; which proved the innocence of Le-Maitre, phyſician to the children of France, who was accuſed of having poiſoned this young prince. Merc. Franç. ann. 1611, p. 158.

mentary visit; which the courtiers had accust
him to look upon as a tribute due to his grea
fluence and authority; or that I should at leas
some person to discharge this duty for me. I
ever, as he neither saw me, nor received any me
from me, he condescended at length to make
visit: but that I might not assume too much u
step by which he conceived that he degraded
self, he was very careful to make me sensible
he came only upon his own business: and ir
our conversation turned chiefly upon his post o
gentleman of the bedchamber; upon his pens
which the queen had ordered should be carrie
account in the same manner as those of Belleg
and upon a gift which he had lately received o
the offices of the gabelle in Languedoc, for w
he had obtained a brevet before the late king's de
but this I did not think proper to mention to
I thought my answers to all this were not calcu
to inspire him with any inclination to quit the
ject he was upon, and for which he said he had
to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it
not long before he repented it; for having slide
by way of advice, that the best thing I could
would be to comply with the queen in all thi
and accommodate myself wholly to her will (w
was tacitly charging me with ruining my own af
by my obstinacy), I made him this short and se
answer, That I would pay an exact obedienc
all the commands of the queen regent, when
were for the service of the king, the advantag
affairs, and the relief of the people; and when
honour and my conscience told me I might d
without prejudicing either. 'Every word he utt
seemed to increase the aversion I had to him
added something more, but with that caution w
my behaviour to him seemed to authorise. I
swered with equal coolness and reserve, and we pa
very ill satisfied with each other; he, I beli

with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpose; and I full of grief at the advancement of those misfortunes which this presumptuous insatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet invested with an absolute authority, was bringing upon France.

It appeared to me, from the day after this conversation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, seemed to have lost much of her former graciousness; yet she constrained herself to preserve some appearance of it, that the alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the conversation I had the day before with Conchini: she again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the grandees, taxed them with extravagance, and seemed resolved to refer them to the council; at which she desired I would always be present, to take care that nothing passed there contrary to the interest of the king and the state. She promised me, upon her royal word, presenting her hand at the same time to me, that she would support me there as strenuously as the late king had done I lost all my suspicions at this declaration; I flattered myself for a moment that this princess, having seriously reflected on all that had lately happened, was become sensible of the danger of pursuing those measures they wanted to engage her in; but I was soon undeceived.

Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme surprize, see, that scarcely any business was transacted in the council, but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the pensions to persons in office, the paying of debts which had been abolished, the abatement of farms, and discharges of the farmers, and revocations of the contracts made for the rents, registries, and domains; creations of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in a word, a thousand schemes to render the people miserable, instead of applying the

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treaſures amaſſed by the late king to their relief, as in juſtice ought to have been done; ſince the circumſtances of affairs were ſo changed, that the deſign for which they were raiſed could not be executed: but the rapaciouſneſs of the great lords would have ſwallowed ſums far more conſiderable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongſt them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It muſt not be expected here, that this article can extend itſelf into a liſt, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of trebling and doubling the penſions, as a matter common to almoſt all the articles.

At the head of this liſt I ſhall put M. the prince, who cauſed me to be ſolicited ſometimes openly, ſometimes in a covert manner, to ſupport his pretenſions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhone. The count of Soiſſons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the caſtle of Caën, and that an edict on linen-cloth ſhould be created for his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The duke of Lorrain demanded the payment of the whole ſum expreſſed in his treaty, although I had ſettled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed that that ſum ſhould be reduced two thirds. The duke of Guiſe ſolicited for a marriage between himſelf and madame de Montpenſier; for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marſeilles; he demanded likewiſe that his debts ſhould be paid. The duke of Maine demanded other ſums, beſides thoſe expreſſed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thouſand crowns; the government of Breſſe, and the city of Bourg; and the embaſſy of Spain with exceſſive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the firſt that became vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the property of the gabelles

belles of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint-Menchout. The duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept conſtantly on foot; the reverſion of his government for his ſon; fortifications to be raiſed at Angoulême and at Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Meſſin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon demanded a ſum of money, for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the aids, tailles, and gabelles, of the viſcounty of Turenne, to his uſe; and that the homage of this viſcounty ſhould be reduced to a ſimple homage; the arrears of his garriſons and his penſions during his exile; the right of holding general aſſemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money ariſing from the petty ſeals, his ſalary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroy demanded, that a garriſon ſhould be maintained at Lyons, the royal lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marſhal's ſtaff for his ſon d'Alincourt, the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the repurchaſe of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his regiſtries upon the king's lands.

It will be eaſily imagined that Conchini's demands were not leſs conſiderable than thoſe of any other; a marſhal's ſtaff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the gabelle of Languedoc, paſſed in the form of a comptant; the profit ariſing from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moiſſet and to Feydeau: this was his portion. Châteauvieux, the chevalier de Sillery, Dollé, Déagent, Arnaud the intendant, Duret the phyſician, all the members of the queen's private council, who ſolicited ſo well for others, did not forget their own affairs. It would be almoſt the ſame thing to enumerate all thoſe perſons of any quality who had a ſhare in this profuſe diſtribution of penſions, gratuities,

ties, privileges, appointments, &c. as to name thoſe who were comprehended in this liſt, for every one had ſome claim there; the princes, governors of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the prêvot des marchands, and even the ſocieties and ſovereign courts; all the officers of the crown were to have their penſions augmented twenty-four thouſand livres each; and the ſalaries of every member of the council raiſed in proportion, and their number to be conſiderably increaſed. In a word, there ſeemed to be a general conſpiracy to pillage the royal treaſure, which was now conſidered as a lawful prize.

THE indignation which I felt in myſelf againſt a licentiouſneſs that degenerated into an attempt upon the royal authority, would not permit me to examine whether the reſolution I had taken, ſingly to oppoſe this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was abſolutely prudent; but this nothing could perſuade me from doing, while the place I held in the council authoriſed ſuch a conduct. My honour, my conſcience, my reputation, which I was called upon to ſupport; the intereſt of the king and the people, whoſe only defender I conſidered myſelf; would not permit me to attend to my own ſafety: the laſt words, nay, the intreaties of the qneen regent, gave me a right to oppoſe them; and though I was very ſenſible that ſhe did not deſire I ſhould underſtand them literally, yet, all things conſidered, I was going to render her a ſervice ſo eſſential, that ſhe could not, or ought not to diſavow it: and yet I had another motive, which I will not ſcruple to declare, ſince I would have my moſt ſecret ſentiments known to the reader. That deſire of glory, ſelf-love, which, when under the direction of reaſon and juſtice, has always appeared to me to have ſomething great and noble in it; ſelf-love, I ſay, dictated to me, that ſince, ſooner or later, I muſt neceſſarily be removed from the miniſtry, I ſhould riſk but little by haſtening the moment of my diſmiſſion; and that I ſhould

gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof, that this diſgrace would not have happened to me, had I not oppoſed the unjuſtifiable meaſures I ſaw purſued by the council, and diſdained the ſervile compliance of the reſt of the courtiers: there remains to unhappy virtue this laſt recompence for the diſappointment of its good deſigns, that it ſhines with redoubled ſplendor amidſt oppoſition and perſecution.

The queen ſoon left me only this conſolation in the painful labours I began to ſuſtain; all her conduct ſerved to ſhew me, that ſhe had only recalled me to Paris, and oppoſed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was ſtill more to be dreaded) if I diſcharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the riſk of making myſelf a thouſand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princeſs and her confidant.

It is not my deſign to give a detail of all the ſchemes that, during this ſhort time, were ſet on foot in the council, nor of what was ſaid or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to deſcribe ſo many ſuits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make uſe of all the methods commonly practiſed to corrupt a judge too rigidly juſt, and againſt which I was ſo much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewiſe to carry their point, either by ſecret plots or by open cabals. I ſhall give the reader one example, which will ſerve to ſhew that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no leſs violent than thoſe I made uſe of The article relating to Villeroy, or rather to d'Alincourt, is not the leaſt curious or important of thoſe which the reader has already had ſome account of.

When d'Alincourt demanded, that a ſtrong garriſon ſhould be placed in the city of Lyons, of which

which he was governor, and maintained at the king's expence, he had two ends to anſwer by it; one was to increaſe his income, by the profits ariſing from this garriſon: for indeed he had occaſion for great riches, to enable him to live as he propoſed to do, not merely as a marſhal of France (a dignity which he expected to be raiſed to in a very little time) but with the ſtate and retinue of a prince: vain pageantry, and doubly ridiculous, in one who had only large poſſeſſions to ſupply the diſadvantages of a mean birth *. The other was to compel the Lyonnois, by the terror with which ſo many forces would inſpire them, to ſacrifice to him their moſt antient rights and privileges, which for a long time he had a deſign to fall upon. As for the treaty made for the redemption of the royal domain, which in that province amounted to twelve hundred thouſand livres, he was inclined to demand the ſuppreſſion of it, becauſe thoſe that were concerned in that affair

† Rymer's Fœdera, ann. 1518, in reciting the diſpatches or inſtructions for the ſolemn embaſſy from Henry VIII. to Francis I., give the titles of knight, lord of Villeroi, &c. to Nicholas de Neufville, great grandfather of the ſecretary of ſtate, and one of thoſe ambaſſadors extraordinary. Sauval, in his Antiquities of Paris, vol. III. p. 612. recites letters patent, dated at Cognac, in February, 1519, wherein Francis I. ſtiles him, our well-beloved and faithful counſellor, Nicholas de Neufville, knight, lord of Villeroi, &c. The dedication of Clement Marot, of his poem, intituled, *Le Temple de Cupidon*, is addreſſed to him, by the title of, Meſſire Nicholas de Neufville, knight, &c. This dedication which had been ſuppreſſed in moſt even of the old editions of the works of that poet, has been reſtored in the edition of 1731, printed at the Hague. Lord Herbert, in the life of Henry VIII. makes honourable mention of this Nicholas de Neufville. Baluze in his accounts, No. 175, 176, ſpeaking of the accounts of M. de Villeroi, ambaſſador in England, adds the title of grand-audiencier in France. The liſt of the officers of the dukes of Burgundy, p. 133. mentions one Nicholas de Neufville, as carver; and Amblart de Neufville, as clerk of the kitchen. The Ducatiana, p. 197, makes mention of Nicholas de Neufville, ſent ambaſſador to Rome by Lewis XII. in 1500; and quotes on this ſubject, the life of Alexander VI. vol. ii. p. 292. Theſe facts have eſcaped Moreri, and the greateſt part of our hiſtorians and genealogiſts, who, in other reſpects, have done that juſtice to the illuſtrious houſe of Villeroi, which the author of theſe Memoirs has refuſed to it.

ſecured

ſecured to him a preſent of an hundred thouſand *livres*, if he could by any means hinder that redemption from taking place.

His deſigns, however, were croſſed by two vigilant enemies: theſe were the whole city of Lyons, and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that province; but to theſe he oppoſed the chancellor Sillery, and Villeroi his father, both very powerful in the council, and in high favour with the queen. Theſe he ſet on to ſolicit for him, and with the more eagerneſs, becauſe he found by my diſcourſe, when he came to intreat me to be favourable to his pretenſions, that he could not depend upon me in the council, before whom theſe demands were to be laid; he ſaw plainly, that he would have occaſion for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his ſucceſs, when he was informed that his father and Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who afterwards prevailed upon the queen to eſpouſe it likewiſe.

We were all aſſembled in the great cloſet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and ſpoke to me in favour of d'Alincourt: I told her majeſty, with great frankneſs, that ſhe muſt not expect I would give my vote for a compliance with two ſuch unjuſt propoſals; that it was not reaſonable the king ſhould loſe twelve hundred thouſand livres, to put one hundred thouſand in the pocket of M. d'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one elſe to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain, and other parts of the royal revenue, which amounted to near fifty millions, revoked all over the kingdom: that I would as ſtrenuouſly oppoſe his other demand, although I knew it would be alledged, that the council had no right to take cognizance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the firſt authoriſed; that by theſe meaſures we were going to expoſe one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well

affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreaſonable requeſt, ſince by the laſt treaty which I myſelf had concluded with cardinal Aldobrandin for the duke of Savoy, his majeſty being to keep poſſeſſion of Breſſe, and of both the borders of the Rhone, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no farther occaſion for a garriſon in it.

THE queen ſeemed to be ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and turned towards Villeroi, as if to make him approve of them likewiſe; but he was not ſo eaſily repulſed, he gave her reaſons in anſwer to mine, ſome good and ſome bad; and when he came to the article of the garriſon, he told her, that it was indeed true, the Spaniards and Savoyards were not ſuch near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it was not againſt their attempts that it was neceſſary to ſecure the city of Lyons, ſince they were moreover upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the huguenots, who being now in a better condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city: he named Leſdiguieres in particular, as one from whom moſt danger was to be apprehended.

BERENGUEVILLE overheard what Villeroi ſaid to the queen, and repeated every word to me; this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the ſecret council held at the houſe of Ubaldini, the pope's nuncio. I ſaw with indignation, that the ſole view of theſe gentlemen was to ſet the catholics and proteſtants in France at variance, as well as in all Europe. I was no leſs ſhocked at Villeroi's accuſation of a man allied to my family, and riſing up haſtily, I went towards the queen, who was ſtill liſtening to him, and told her, that I had forgot to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well aſſured of, as if I had been a witneſs of it, and this was, that Villeroi, in his deſign of rendering her favour-

favourable to his ſon's pretenſions, cared but little by what means this was brought about; and did not ſcruple to make the falſeſt and moſt malignant repreſentations againſt the proteſtants, without even excepting one, whom a thouſand great and good ſervices ought to place out of the reach of ſuſpicion; that his malice went ſo far as to treat them as enemies, whom France had more reaſon to fear than Spain itſelf; that if her majeſty, judging Villeroi's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, ſhould reſolve to behold the proteſtants and the Spaniards in the ſame light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked ſtedfaſtly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council. This was a ſevere ſtroke upon Villeroi; but this man, who had neither abilities to ſpeak in publick, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a ſingle word to ſay in anſwer to me; indeed his ſurprize, and the ſecret reproaches of his own conſcience, might well render him dumb upon this occaſion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the duke of Epernon were conferring together; and the queen alſo, quitting her place without anſwering me, went to join the count of Soiſſons and marechal Briſſac, who were talking in private. I foreboded no good from theſe ſeveral connexions.

NOTHING was done this day in d'Alincourt's affair, and I ſometimes flattered myſelf that the meaſures I had taken would hinder it from being reſumed; but it was only put off till his father and himſelf, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the counſellors, ſecured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to ſoften me: he repreſented to me, that my oppoſition was in vain, and would have no other conſequence but to bring every body upon my back; that I ſhould have the mortification to ſee that my example would not be followed even by my

neareſt relations. I replied, that I never expected any thing elſe from him, but that I was abſolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word, for in the firſt council that was held on this occaſion, ſeeing that the counſellor to whoſe charge it fell that day was ready to make his report, I aſked him haſtily, what was the buſineſs? he replied, that it related to ſome propoſals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnois. I interrupted him, ſaying, that I was well aſſured d'Alincourt, who was moſt intereſted in that affair, had formed ſo ſtrong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already reſolved on, even before it was laid before it; but that I proteſted againſt it, as being abſolutely contrary to his majeſty's intereſt; and that I deſired a certificate of my proteſtation from the clerk, to ſend it to the parliament to be regiſtered there, in order that this writing might one day ſerve to ſhew the king the bad conduct purſued by his council after the death of the king his predeceſſor †.

† This account perfectly agrees with what is ſaid in l'Hiſtoire de la Mere et du Fils: "The duke of Sully," ſays that hiſtorian, "continued to exerciſe his office for a fortnight or three weeks after "the coronation was performed, at which time the diſputes on account of the Swiſs at Lyons, which I have ſpoke of before, were renewed, becauſe Villeroi wanted to have their pay charged on the "general receipts of that city. The duke of Sully was ſo much out "of temper on this ſcore, that not content with maintaining, it was "unreaſonable to load the king with ſo great an expence, when the "inhabitants of Lyons were ſufficient to keep guards themſelves, as "they had always been uſed to do: he alſo treated the chancellor, "who ſided with Villeroi, roughly, telling him, they were all agreed "amongſt themſelves to ruin the king's affairs. As this was an affront to all theſe miniſters in common, they joined their endeavours "to ruin the duke, the harſhneſs of whoſe temper was not to be ſoftened." This writer afterwards relates the ſeveral ſteps that were taken to unite the miniſters with the count of Soiſſons, the marquis of Ancre, the marquis of Cœuvres, and others, againſt the duke of Sully. As this author is one of the duke of Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpoſe to confirm the truth of what the duke ſays, that he might have kept his poſts, if he would have joined in the meaſures of the new council; and that his perſeverance in the ſupport of juſtice, the public

THESE laſt words, which, it muſt be granted, were very ſevere, had no other effect, than to ſuſpend, for a ſhort time, the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general conſternation ſeized all that were preſent; the chancellor alone, without ſhewing any emotion, ſaid to the counſellor, "Lay other papers before us, and let us "proceed to affairs of a different kind; we ſhall "find a time for this when theſe heats and animoſi-"ties are over, as it generally happens, in things "that are moſt conteſted." The counſellor obeyed; the other matters were diſcuſſed; and d'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without oppoſition: but this was not till I myſelf was baniſhed from the board; which happened in ſo ſhort a time afterwards, that it may be ſaid it was by this vigorous effort I finiſhed my career.

I HAD now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given ſufficient proofs to all

public intereſt, and the late king's plan of government, was the cauſe of his diſgrace. All men of ſenſe have not, however, given the ſame judgment on his inflexibility with the author I am ſpeaking of, though all the enemies of that miniſter have agreed with him in it. In the appendix to the Merc. Franç. for the year 1610, p. 9. we find an entire diſcourſe on this ſubject, which juſtifies him in a manner extremely to his honour. The Memoirs de Villeroi, vol III. p. 259. alſo ſpeaks of him in the following manner: "The charge which the ſaid ſieur de Sul-"ly made in the condition of France by retrieving her from a ſtate of "indigence, and rendering her rich and opulent, by his œconomy and "induſtry, ſufficiently proves his abilities: his free remonſtrances to "the king, and his oppoſition to all great men, diſcover his probity: "and his having been able to ſtand his ground amongſt ſo many ene-"mies, without ſinking under his own apprehenſions, or their threats, "ſhews how great were his prudence and courage; even thoſe who "envy him are compelled to own, that he alone is more uſeful to "the public, and has more knowledge of buſineſs, than all the reſt "together; and provided he would abate a little of his auſterity, he "would be a ſervant worthy of your majeſty. Though they endea-"vour to keep him from having any concern in the management of "affairs, yet that cannot ſtop him from freely ſpeaking his ſenti-"ments of the little reſpect paid to the memory of the late king, and "of the ſmall deference ſhewn to our young prince, &c." See alſo the manuſcript diſcourſe cited by us in the preface to this work.

France, that it was not for want of the moſt ſtrenuous efforts on my ſide that the affairs of the ſtate were plunged into diſorder: it was become impoſſible for me to apply any remedy to the increaſing evil. This no one doubted of: I ſtruggled to no purpoſe; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of thoſe perſons whoſe intereſt it would have been to ſecond them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other perſons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I ſaw nothing preparing for me for the future, but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay my ſilence itſelf, witneſſed againſt perſons who were inwardly ſtruck with the injuſtice of theſe reproaches. My poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he ſhould gain it when I was driven from court. By ſtaying there too long, I expoſed myſelf to the danger of being violently diſpoſſeſſed of all my other employments. Thoſe of my friends, who were moſt ſincere, and beſt knew the plots that were forming againſt me, were continually giving me counſels which I was convinced deſerved to have more weight with me, than the ſolicitations of ſome of my relations, who were either carried away by a miſtaken tenderneſs for me, or regard to their own intereſt. I therefore reſolved to defer no longer the reſignation of my two employments of ſuperintendant of the finances and governor of the Baſtile, which were the moſt panted after, as by them they could diſpoſe of the revenues and treaſures of the king, hoping to purchaſe by this ſacrifice, which might have ſtill ſome appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities *, which

* The duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Bethune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, ſovereign prince of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, marquis of Roſni, count of

it was not in the power of my enemies to deprive me of, especially if I took the precaution of removing for ever out of their sight an object which could never fail of re-animating their hatred, by the effect of a jealousy unavoidable, while I continued amongst them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myself in a resolution to quit the court, and Paris itself, at the same time that I resigned all further share in the administration of affairs.

I PREPARED to execute this design on the beginning of the year 1611*. The queen appeared de-

of Dourdan, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Espineuil, Bruyeres-le-Chastel, Villebon, La-Chapelle, Novion, Baugy, and Bontin, chancellor to the king in all the councils, captain-lieutenant of two hundred gens d'armes under the queen's command, grand-master and captain-general of the artillery, surveyor-general of France, superintendant of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor, and the king's lieutenant-general of the provinces of Poitou, Châtelleraud, and Laudun, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and captain of the castle of the Bastile.

* Here follow several accounts of this event, very different one from the other: "The year 1611 was begun with the retirement of "M. de Sully, who, at the instigation, and by the intrigues of the "two princes of the blood, was drove from the management of af- "fairs. The superintendance of the finances, and the custody of the "king's treasure, was taken from him. The queen also took the "Bastile out of his hands, and gave the custody thereof to M. de "Châteauneuf [it should be Châteauvieux.] The finances were put "under the direction of Messrs. de Châteauneuf, the president de "Thou, and Jeannin: but the last was also made comptroller-gene- "ral of the finances, which threw the sole management of them in- "to his hands, to the exclusion of the other two, who assisted only "in the direction." Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 308.

"The 24th of this month (January) M. de Sully quitted the arse- "nal. There is a report that a brevet is issued to appoint him mar- "shal of France, with a grant of some thousands of crowns as a re- "compence to him. He has voluntarily resigned the direction of "the finances, *tanquam è speculo prævidens tempestatem futuram.*" Journal de l'Etoile, page 256.

"The prince of Condé and the count of Soissons spoke the first of "it to the queen, the ministers seconded them, and the marquis of "Ancre gave him the finishing stroke. Thus he found himself un- "der the necessity of retiring in the beginning of February, &c." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 235.

"Some have written that the duke of Sully, shortly after the re- "conciliation of the count of Soissons and the duke of Guise, volun- "tarily resigned into the queen's hands, as well the Bastile, as the

ſirous of oppoſing it; but this was only for form's ſake. Here follows the letter ſhe wrote to me upon this occaſion.

"ſuperintendancy of the finances. Others ſay, that making an offer "to the queen to give up all his poſts, he was taken at his word: "others have ſpoken differently of it. He himſelf ſays the con- "trary in the letter he wrote to the queen, which was printed ſhort- "ly after." Merc. Franç. anno 1611.

This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The Memoirs of the regency of Mary de Medicis, vol. I. p. 57. diſſent alſo from the foregoing accounts, aſſerting that the duke of Sully earneſtly ſolicited the queen to diſmiſs him, which ſhe with great reluctance conſented to.

There may poſſibly be ſome truth in both theſe opinions: That is, that the duke of Sully would, out of queſtion, have freely conſented to keep his poſts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the ſame authority, though not with the ſame ſatisfaction, as under the late king: but the efforts he made for that purpoſe alienated the queen, the great men, and the miniſters from him, and at laſt increaſed his diſguſt, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account diſcordant with this notion: on the contrary, he agrees to what is ſaid in theſe Memoirs. "The duke "of Sully, ſays he, after the death of Henry the Great, immediately "ſaw he ſhould not poſſeſs the ſame authority under the new reign as "he did under the laſt; and that the enmity of the count of Soiſſons "would bring on his ruin. As the direction of the finances had al- "ready been taken from him, the queen was adviſed to deprive him "alſo of the Baſtile. This was eſteemed ſo bold a ſtep, that it was "ſaid Henry the Great would not have dared to have taken it for fear "of ſtirring up thoſe of the duke's religion to reſent it. She, never- "theleſs, ſaw him readily obey her commands to reſign the Baſtile to "Châteauvieux, one of the knights of honour. Had he made any "oppoſition, ſome of the great men at court, who were afraid his "ſteadineſs might be drawn into precedent, would have rendered this "diſmiſſion more difficult. As ſoon as he was ſtript of this office, "he ſaw the prejudice reſulting from his having ſo eaſily ſubmitted: "and deſired the queen's permiſſion to go to Roſny, ſaying he would "not ſtay there above three days. When he was there thoſe of his "religion cautioned him not to go back to court, where he had been "ſo ill treated. His wife and brother on the contrary urged him to "return, and he did ſo accordingly; but thoſe who had been of the "oppoſite opinion withdrew themſelves from him, eſteeming it a "meanneſs in him not to ſhew a greater reſentment for ſuch ill uſage. "The queen received him favourably; but the count of Soiſſons "cauſed him to be kept from having any concern in buſineſs, which "had been ſo much under his immediate management in the late "king's reign. Seeing himſelf thus fallen both from his credit and "employments, he went to Sully; and not thinking himſelf in ſafe- "ty enough there, he returned into the province of Bourbon." This writer adds, that one of the principal motives which induced the proteſtants

"COUSIN,

"I hear, with concern, that you have taken a re-
"ſolution to diſcharge yourſelf of the care of the
"king my ſon's affairs, particularly of thoſe relating
"to the finances, contrary to the hope I had con-
"ceived, that you would continue to perform the
"duties of that employment as you did in the
"time of the late king my lord. I entreat you to
"think well of this deſign before you put it into
"execution, and let me know your laſt determina-
"tion, that I may regulate mine upon it. So be-
"ſeeching God, &c."

Paris, Jan. 24, 1611.

MY anſwer to this letter being ſuch as the queen probably expected, ſhe ſent Bouillon to me two days afterwards with the brevets of diſcharge from my two employments, of ſuperintendant of the finances and governor of the Baſtile, in the moſt authentic form, and, at the ſame time, moſt advantageous for me. Her majeſty in theſe brevets declared, that it was at my repeated ſolicitation ſhe had granted me leave to reſign theſe places; and that I ſhould not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be queſtioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To theſe brevets was added another, dated January 27, by which her majeſty, in conſideration of the ſervices the late king had received from me during a long courſe of years, and of which ſhe made a moſt honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thouſand livres, to be paid out of the royal treaſury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the order of the

teſtants to endeavour to increaſe his diſcontent, was their deſire of having his great fortune engaged for the advantage of the common cauſe: but that he ſubmitted to the prudent advice given him by La-Vallée, the lieutenant-general of the artillery, who has been mentioned before, to keep himſelf quite retired, without having any concern in the quarrels which ſoon after happened. Ib. p. 22.

Holy Ghoſt, from which his majeſty was deſirous I ſhould be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majeſties, either contained orders to give up the caſtle of the Baſtile to the ſieur de Châteauvieux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it, or acquittals for ſome jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which conſiſted of a jewel called the Licorne, and ſome other rings and jewels, for which a promiſſory note of mine for ten thouſand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to madame Le-Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged.

I EMPLOYED the remainder of the time I ſtaid in Paris in regulating my domeſtic affairs, in a detail of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably the counſels I gave to my ſecretaries. I had generally ſix principal ones, as well for the buſineſs of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to tranſact with the court, and I found it neceſſary to have a great many other clerks or tranſcribers under them: but thoſe I ſhall mention here were my chief ſecretaries, whoſe abilities and exact diſcharge of their ſeveral duties, well deſerved that I ſhould give them a ſhare in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among theſe, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldeſt died while he was yet young, many years before the king was aſſaſſinated. I had ſo great a regard for the ſecond, that from being my ſecretary only, I procured him to be made counſellor of ſtate, and intendant of the finances: the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horſe: and to the laſt I gave the poſt of treaſurer of France, and that of overſeer of the highways. All my other ſecretaries were provided

vided for in proportion. I believe I ſhall not be accuſed of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or perhaps we ſay more properly, to our places, ſhould not be diſappointed of thoſe rewards, which it is in our power to beſtow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treaſurer of France, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and comptroller-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; La-Clavelle overſeer of the bridges and cauſeways; Du-Maurier, who had quitted the duke of Bouillon's ſervice for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and inclination led him, and has been ſince ambaſſador to Holland; Murat was made treaſurer of the extraordinary of war; La-Font, whom I have often mentioned in theſe Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he beſtowed upon him, made him overſeer of his furniture; Gillot was made ſecretary of the ordnance. All theſe men were truly ſenſible how much they were going to loſe by my retreat, and they omitted no ſort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my reſolution. I will do moſt of them the juſtice to declare, that I believe, by acting thus, they thought they were ſerving my intereſt at leaſt as much as their own: but as for the two Arnauds, the eldeſt eſpecially, and two or three more, they were but little affected with my purpoſe. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who oppoſed it moſt. Arnaud the elder added, on this occaſion, hypocriſy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of ſuperintendant of the finances, for which he looked upon himſelf as much better qualified, he was one of thoſe who ſolicited Conchini moſt earneſtly to procure it for that miniſter, who he flattered himſelf

ſelf would leave the chief management of it to him.

I PENETRATED into the inmoſt receſſes of their hearts. I diſcovered views and deſigns which they probably imagined were ſufficiently concealed; but I ſuppreſſed a reſentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aſide one after the other, I gave them ſuch advice as, from the preſent conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their diſpoſitions, was moſt likely to advance their fortunes: I told the elder Arnaud, that he had it in his power to make his court very ſucceſsfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the moſt important affairs of the finances, which were lodged in his hands; and, that this ſacrifice might loſe no part of its merit, I adviſed him to offer it by madame de Conchini, ſeriouſly recommending it to him, at the ſame time, to devote himſelf faithfully to her ſervice: I adviſed his brother to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroi, Jeannin, and, above all, Conchini's, who was the only oracle which it was neceſſary for him to conſult in the exerciſe of his employment; and I deſired the colonel himſelf to make his court to thoſe very perſons.

DURET, beſides all thoſe, might apply himſelf to the commander † and to Dollé; and this I recommended to him to do. Du Maurier needed only to be made known to Villeroi, by carefully cultivating his friendſhip, which I aſſured him would be ſufficient; and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he poſſeſſed of ſpeaking well, and of writing ſtill better, he might eaſily obtain of the queen and the favourite, ſome honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the ſecretary of ſtate, I recommended my intereſts at court; but to diſ-

† Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

charge

charge this truſt cautiouſly, and not without firſt aſking Villeroi's conſent. As for La-Clavelle, his ſubtle wit and proneneſs to flattery, ſecured him all poſſible ſucceſs with the miniſters, and even with d'Eſcures, who had more power than any body elſe to block up his way in the diſcharge of his office. La-Font's employment ſubjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard, was not to ſeek any other recommendation from his own court, excepting the importance which the force of his underſtanding might give him amongſt his aſſociates; and I deſired he would to this employment add that of taking care of my domeſtic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my ſon, to ſuperintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that every thing might be kept in the ſame order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior ſecretaries and clerks ſuch advice as I thought moſt ſuitable to their humbler ſtation, and obliged thoſe who ſhewed moſt reluctance to comply with my meaſures, to confeſs at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that neceſſity which ſooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had preſcribed. This I accompanied with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had ſuch an appearance of ſincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I had no intention, however, to keep no more ſecretaries in my ſervice; but, being now out of place myſelf, I had no occaſion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new ſecretaries into my family, whoſe chief buſineſs, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of ſtate, was collecting and preparing theſe Memoirs for the public.

This done, and burying in eternal oblivion thoſe hopes, deſires, reſentments, and regrets, which any other

other in my ſituation might have formed, I bid a laſting adieu to the court, and with the ſame indifference as if it had not for ſo long a courſe of years been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happineſs ‡. I loſt at one ſtroke a king who was my benefactor and my ſupport, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loſs generally brings along with it ſo many other mortifications, that, to thoſe who have ſuffered it, it appears but the leaſt part of their unhappineſs. If this additional ill fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more expoſed to them than myſelf; yet hiſtory can furniſh but few examples of miniſters and favourites in diſgrace, who were as much honoured and reſpected in their fall as I was; for it ſometimes happens that public eſteem ſucceeds to particular favour in ſupporting thoſe who are unfortunate only, and when it does not form a counterweight ſtrong enough to incline the ballance to their ſide, it is becauſe theſe ſuppoſed oppreſſed perſons have always ſome weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time when it ſeems moſt to triumph. My enemies therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myſelf) could ſatisfy but a ſmall

‡ "Though this blow was not given him unawares, and though he "ſaw it coming at a diſtance, he was not able to receive it with com-"poſure, nor even without weakneſs. He ſubmitted, becauſe he "was compelled to it, but could not forbear complaining; and "when, by the queen's order, he was reminded that he had many "times offered her to lay down his employments, he anſwered, He "did it, not thinking he ſhould be taken at his word, &c." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, ib. p. 131. This writer adds many other ſtories of M. de Sully equally ſpightful: but to the reaſons we have already given for not giving any great weight to his teſtimony, we may add, that he is the only one who ſpeaks of him in this manner.

"On Saturday, the 5th of February, the duke of Sully left Paris, "after returning the grant he had received of 1000,000 crowns. "The ducheſs of Sully blamed his haughtineſs and pride in doing "ſo." L'Etoile, ib. p. 257.

part

part of their rage againſt me, becauſe the victory they had gained was one of thoſe ſhameful advantages which it is thought neceſſary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorſe; nor did the ſatisfaction my enemies felt for my diſgrace, hinder ſome true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occaſion of ſhewing their reſpect for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to ſet out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended at my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horſe.

It was not while I was preſent, and in a condition to defend myſelf, that I expected to ſee my enemies uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt me: envy is a paſſion whoſe characteriſtic is cowardice, no leſs than malice and detraction: I was always perſuaded that they would ſeize eagerly the advantages my abſence afforded them. In effect, a few days were ſcarce elapſed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impreſſion of my conduct in public affairs, but alſo to render me enough ſuſpected to afford them ſome pretence for commencing a proſecution againſt me, the ſhame and grief of which was all they deſired I ſhould ſuffer §. On this occaſion I took ſuch meaſures as I thought every wiſe man ought to take, which was to diſarm envy the moſt effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majeſties from being prejudiced to my diſadvantage.

In the firſt, which I addreſſed to the king and queen, I complained that bad deſigns were formed

§ "He had no ſooner retired," ſays the Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128, "but many prepared to purſue the victory over him, in "order to come in for a ſhare of his ſpoils.---But the queen at laſt, "with great reaſon, changed her meaſures, it not being held rea-"ſonable to treat with ill uſage a perſon whoſe ſervices had been ſo "advantageous to France, without any other pretext, than that, by "his having been uſeful to the public, he had at the ſame time been "ſo to himſelf."

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againſt me: I offered to juſtify my conduct by every method they could propoſe, and even, if neceſſary, by new ſervices: and, after giving their majeſties the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I repreſented to them with ſome freedom, that, if they had been as well perſuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I ſhould have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleaſed to give for the performances of the ſeveral promiſes they had made me, with reſpect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the firſt artifice practiſed by my enemies, had been to defer, and afterwards to hinder, if they could, the effect of thoſe promiſes, which, being ſo many proofs of their majeſties good opinion of me, while they ſubſiſted, it was dangerous to attempt any thing againſt me: and it was for this reaſon that I was ſo ſolicitous for their being accompliſhed.

To this letter I received an anſwer from the queen ſuch as I could have wiſhed: She obſerved in it, that my paſt ſervices, and my preſent inclinations, were ſo well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any perſon whatever to alter their ſentiments with reſpect to me: that hitherto ſhe had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it ſhould, it would be to no purpoſe; ſhe aſſured me it was not owing to any ill-will towards me, but to chance alone, that ſome little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majeſty and me; but that they ſhould be obſerved with the utmoſt exactneſs. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I ſent the queen another letter, of which I cannot diſpenſe with myſelf from giving the reader ſome account, becauſe what I there declared concerning the ſtate of my private affairs, was exactly conformable to the ſituation I found myſelf in upon my retiring from public buſineſs. I began

gan with recalling to her remembrance the open profeſſion I had always made of attachment to her perſon, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as ſince her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumſtances, when I drew upon myſelf ſome reproaches from the late king for ſupporting her againſt him on occaſions, when I thought I was labouring equally for both their intereſts. This led me to an eulogium on the good qualities of the queen regent, on which I founded the opinion I was to appear in this letter to have entertained, that ſhe had no part in the perſecutions raiſed againſt me at court.

THIS article I treated at great length. It being that for which the latter was chiefly written, I gave the queen to underſtand that I was well informed of the diſadvantageous reports which were ſpread againſt me in court; of the obſtacles my enemies were inceſſantly raiſing to hinder me from ſettling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquiſites which their majeſties propoſed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I aſſumed a right from the good intentions which I ſuppoſed this princeſs had towards me, founded upon the repeated aſſurances ſhe had given me of her eſteem, to complain to her of thoſe perſons who rendered theſe intentions ineffectual. I inſiſted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reaſon to expect from their majeſties while I was making that diſpoſition of my affairs, to which, for the ſake of peace, I had ſacrificed my intereſt, when it would have been ſo much the eaſier to have diſputed the ground with my adverſaries, as the motives by which they acted being almoſt generally known, I had every advantage over them which I could deſire. I here laid down conciſely the principal points of my management, and my ſhare of that wealth with which, by my labours and œconomy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I

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ſaw all the meaſures I had taken to keep every thing in the ſame ſtate of order and regularity at once overturned and deſtroyed; adding that time would ſhew whether the kingdom had moſt obligations to my enemies or to me.

I TOOK this opportunity to obviate ſome of their moſt ſpecious accuſations: I repreſented to the queen the great folly and abſurdity they were guilty of for exclaiming againſt me for the vaſt riches they ſaid I had acquired during the courſe of my favour with the late king, when in their hearts they deſpiſed me for not making greater advantages of ſo fair an opportunity, and were fully reſolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to ſay all I could in my own juſtification: I only obſerved to the queen, that it was eaſy for me to prove that that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, I acquired either by frugality and œconomy, or by the bounty of a maſter too generous and too grateful to leave a miniſter unrewarded, who devoted himſelf with an aſſiduity, rarely ſeen in a ſuperintendant, to continual labours for the public good *: that it was ſufficient for me that all the gratuities I had received from my maſter only, which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the uſe to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than thoſe who were going to ſucceed me would be able to ſay at the cloſe of their adminiſtration. I told the queen that I hoped I ſhould not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me, was a real injury to

* "He retired loaden with riches, which the time he had been in "the miniſtry had enabled him to acquire.---It may be ſaid with "great truth, that the firſt years of his adminiſtration were very "profitable to him; and if any ſhould ſay the laſt were no leſs ſo, it "muſt be allowed that, if they were advantageous to him, they were "greatly ſo to the public." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128. One ſingle proof from any enemy, ſuch as the author of this Hiſtory, will counterballance a thouſand others.

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the ſtate: that I never deſired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that having their majeſties for judges of my actions, upon whoſe equity and goodneſs I relied to hinder my enemies from commencing a proſecution againſt me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I ſhould find it ſo much the more pleaſing, as it began now to be ſuitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorſe.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this letter, through which I had occaſionally interſperſed many offers of ſervice, aſſurances of fidelity, and all thoſe expreſſions of reſpect and obedience, which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I ſet out for my government, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and, if ſhe thought I could be of any uſe to her in the aſſembly of the proteſtants, to which I was ſummoned, I would go thither with the ſame diſpoſition and readineſs to ſerve her as the late king my maſter. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen anſwered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almoſt in the ſame terms as her former letter: ſhe left me at liberty to go to Poitou, or to the aſſembly of the proteſtants, and to act there as I ſhould judge proper, knowing better than any other (thoſe were her words) how I could be moſt uſeful to the king in either of thoſe places.

BUT what completely ſecured me againſt all reverſes of fortune was, that her majeſty being deſirous to give a public proof of her eſteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my penſion, for which the brevet was expedited in leſs than a month after the date of her laſt letter. This augmentation

mentation was twenty-four thouſand livres; ſo that altogether my penſions at that time amounted to forty-eight thouſand four hundred livres a year. It was expreſſed in the brevet, that this additional penſion commenced on the 1ſt of January 1611, altho' it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majeſty thought herſelf under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my paſt ſervices, of which the moſt honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, I do not think myſelf diſpenſed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter, which regards my wealth. A ſuperintendant of the finances, and any man to whom the management of the kingdom's money has been entruſted, is accountable to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuſe, if called upon, to lay before it my moſt ſecret thoughts, ſince it has been always my ſtudy to regulate them in ſuch a manner, that they would, if known, not only ſubject me to no cenſure, for this is an indiſpenſible obligation upon all men, but alſo that they might in ſome reſpect ſeem worthy to ſerve for a model to thoſe who, ſucceeding to my place, would have the ſame engagements to him. Happy if I could have reaſon to hope that this model would be effaced with one more perfect. I ſhall continue therefore to give the public ſuch an exact ſtate of my domeſtic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other perſon may be as well acquainted with them as I am myſelf. To ſpare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a diſtance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole with one ſingle glance, I ſhall here lay before them all that has been ſaid on that ſubject in different parts of theſe Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue,

revenue, according to the order of time when I was inveſted with thoſe offices, from whence the greateſt part of it aroſe *.

I WAS in the firſt place, while Henry the Great was yet but king of Navarre, preferred to the poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, together with that of counſellor of Navarre: the ſalaries of both amounted to two thouſand livres a year. When he became king of France, he made me counſellor of ſtate, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, increaſed my income with the yearly ſum of ſeven thouſand ſix hundred livres. My company of men at arms b ought me in four thouſand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for counſellor of parliament without ſalary, and the other for counſellor of the finances, three thouſand ſix hundred livres were on this occaſion added to my penſions. His majeſty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, penſions, gifts, &c. which he deſigned to beſtow upon me as ſuperintendant of the finances, to a certain ſum, which ſhould be comprehended all in one article, this ſum, which amounted to twenty thouſand crowns, increaſed my revenue with ten thouſand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of grand-ſurveyor of the roads of France, and ſurveyor in particular of the Iſle of France, brought me in ten

* The following memoir is an unanſwerable refutation of a reflection caſt on the duke of Sully by the Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 130; and expreſſed in theſe words: "In fine, if, during "his adminiſtration, he had managed the king's affairs well, he "had not forgot to take care of his own. This appeared more evi- "dently from his having come into office with only ſix thouſand "livres a year, and going out with more than a hundred and fifty "thouſand livres, which had obliged him to withdraw out of the "exchequer the rent-roll and inventory of his eſtate and effects, "which had been regiſtered there, when he came into the manage- "ment of the finances, that it might not appear againſt him, under "his own hand and ſeal, how much he had enriched himſelf out "of the king's money."

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thouſand livres a year; that of great maſter of the ordnance, comprehending the ſalary, profits, and penſions, annexed to it, twenty-four thouſand livres. I always placed under one article the ſums ariſing from the government of Poitou, the ſuper-intendance of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c. which all together amounted to eighteen thouſand livres a year. The government of Mante and Gergeau brought me in twelve thouſand livres; the queen's company of gendarmes, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thouſand livres; and the government of the Baſtile two thouſand two hundred livres a year. All theſe articles put together make up the ſum of ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred livres a year.

EACH of theſe articles have been already mentioned in different parts of theſe Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thouſand livres in church benefices, which his holineſs was ſo well ſatisfied that I ſhould enjoy under the borrowed name of ſome eccleſiaſtics, that he generally expedited the bulls gratis, when he was told that the abbeys were for me. I loſt no part of this income, when it was decreed that the eccleſiaſtics ſhould withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the proteſtants, becauſe by the pope's buils, in which this regulation was expreſſed, the eccleſiaſtics on whom they were beſtowed, were to give the full value of them to the firſt poſſeſſor. My own lands and poſſeſſions compoſe a ſecond article, which I believe I eſtimate juſtly, by making them amount to ſixty thouſand livres a year. Theſe two laſt ſums, added to that of ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thouſand two hundred livres a year.

I SHALL prevent the explanation which may be demanded of me, with reſpect to the article of twenty thouſand crowns in lands; and, in the firſt place, I deſire it may be remembered that there was a kind

a kind of agreement made between the king and myſelf in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his ſervices ſufficiently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and penſions, and who likewiſe was apprehenſive as well as I that thoſe ſums, which his generoſity led him to give me in extraordinary preſents and gratuities, would produce bad conſequences hereafter, by that appearance of profuſion they might have, again ſettled his gifts and gratuities in a new ſum of ſixty thouſand livres a year, which was to take in all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expedited by letters patents, that being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day ſubjected to any diſhonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the ſum of four hundred and eighty thouſand livres, which I laid out according to the king's deſire, in making acquiſitions in propor ion. I made the ſame uſe of the ſum of five hundred and thirty thouſand livres ariſing from the following articles: From money which I have received, but which is ſubject to be repaid, two hundred thouſand livres, on the marriage of my ſon; a hundred thouſand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thouſand paid me by La-Borde; as much by M. de Schomberg; and thirty thouſand which his majeſty gave me for my ſon d'Orval *, Theſe ſums, I ſay, which added to the above, make one million and ten thouſand livres, I laid out in the following manner:

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the counts of Orval, was knight of the king's orders, maſter of the horſe to the queen, ſurveyor-general of France, ſuperintendant of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-maſter of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of Cæſar de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the eſtates and lordſhips which the duke of Sully their father had ſettled on the children of his ſecond marriage (as we ſhall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a duchy

I PURCHASED one half of the eſtate of Roſny with two hundred and ten thouſand livres; the eſtate of Dourdon, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiſs cantons, coſt me, beſide the money he owed me, a hundred thouſand livres. Baugy, one hundred and twenty thouſand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the duke de la Tremouille for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thouſand. The three contracts I made with the duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thouſand livers: namely, for Montrond a hundred thouſand; La Chapelle fifty-ſix thouſand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thouſand. I bought the eſtate of Châtelet of the duke of Montpenſier for ſixty thouſand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance for eighty thouſand; and Des-Is, in Beauce, for ſeventy-five thouſand livres. The whole of theſe purchaſes, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thouſand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two ſums received above by a hundred and nine thouſand livres, this ſum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am deſirous of giving the reader full ſatisfaction, by carrying this detail even farther than he has a right to expect, and for this purpoſe I muſt ſtep a little aſide from the ſubject I am treating of, and give an account of the ſeveral ſums I received after the death

dutchy and peerage, under the title of de Bethune, which was done in conſideration of his ſignal ſervices to the crown, and particularly in having raiſed, at his own expence, a conſiderable body of forces, both foot and horſe, at a time when the king ſtood in great need of them, to carry on the war, in which he was then engaged with the Spaniards, duke Charles of Lorrain, the prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious ſubjects. It is in theſe terms the letters patent for this purpoſe are expreſſed, which are dated at Melun in the month of June 1652. The duchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1730, on the death of Maximilian, the fifth duke of Sully, in the perſon of Lewis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandſon of this Francis count of Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of ſtate, he paying the value of it to the abbé Armand de Bethune his great uncle, afterwards count of Orval.

of

of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c. even to the time that I reſolved to diſpoſe of almoſt all the employments with which I had been inveſted.

THE three hundred thouſand livres which his majeſty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this Prince, and a kind of recompence for the ſuperintendance of the finances, and government of the Baſtile, which I reſigned into his hands. He gave me ſixty thouſand livres for my company of gendarmes, for which I had refuſed two hundred thouſand. I agreed with Fourcy to reſign to him the ſuperintendance of the buildings for fifty thouſand livres, which was the price ſet upon it by his majeſty: I refuſed to take more. I was offered three hundred thouſand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's conſent that he ſhould purchaſe it for two hundred thouſand. I loſt in the ſame manner a hundred thouſand livres upon the offices of grand-ſurveyor of the roads, and hereditary maſter of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treaſurer of France paid me one hundred and fifty thouſand livres for them. His majeſty likewiſe cauſed me to be paid again the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres for the eſtate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which he has ſince paid me. I deſtined theſe two laſt ſums for the portion of my youngeſt daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an eſtabliſhment than her elder ſiſter. To theſe ſums, I add thoſe which aroſe from the ſale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the eccleſiaſtics, by whom they were purchaſed, to give it me; or for the pope to permit it, as he did by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any ſcruples, an allowance of eighty thouſand livres of an abbé, who was re-

commended to me by the prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his ſon, was the moſt ſcrupulous Roman catholic I ever knew, purchaſed under the ſanction of theſe bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thouſand livres; an abbé, a friend of the duke of Rohan, bought that of l'Or at Poitiers of me for ſeventy thouſand; and l'Argentier Vaucemain, or rather his ſon, that of l'Abſie for fifty thouſand livres. All theſe ſums together make a total of thirteen hundred thouſand livres. Let us now ſee to what uſe it was applied.

I BOUGHT of M. de Lavardin the eſtate of Montricoux, and that of Cauſſade, from the ſieur Palliers, for a hundred and ſixty thouſand livres both. My youngeſt daughter * having, on account of ſome perſonal diſadvantages, as I obſerved before, occaſion for a larger portion than her ſiſter to marry her ſuitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thouſand livres in ſpecie: the other expences of this marriage, in jewels, furniture, &c. formed an article of fifty thouſand livres more, which in all makes up the ſum of five hundred thouſand livres. I ſhall only ſlightly obſerve here, that ſuch diſtinguiſhing proofs of paternal tenderneſs were repaid both by my daughter and her huſband, with the moſt ſtriking inſtances of ingratitude. I lent to ſeveral cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which, by the ſiege and reduction of this city, and the wars raiſed againſt the proteſtants, I have almoſt wholly loſt. The money I lent, at different times, to the marquis of Roſny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at leaſt to three hundred thouſand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guyenne, by the purchaſe I made of certain regiſtries and rents there, coſt me four

* Louiſa de Bethune. She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Levis, marquis of Mirepoix.

hundred

hundred thouſand livres; and the houſe I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thouſand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journies, and other expences of that kind, I find a capital of ſeven hundred thouſand livres. The ſum total of all theſe ſeveral articles, amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty thouſand livres, which makes it ſuperior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thouſand livres.

THE reader may have obſerved, from the beginning of theſe Memoirs, that my application to my domeſtic œconomy extended itſelf to things which might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, ariſing either from priſoners I had taken, from ranſoms, or at the ſacking of towns taken by aſſault, and on other occaſions of the ſame kind, which it is not neceſſary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that theſe profits, which when conſidered ſeparately, appear ſo ſlight that they ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thouſand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which fell out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannon, arms, ammunition, &c. taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion, as great-maſter of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thouſand livres. By calculating the value of all thoſe preſents that were made me on different occaſions, I found the whole amount to a ſum nearly equal to the former. It muſt be obſerved, that I mean only ſuch preſents as I received in the character of a public perſon, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refuſed them, as in my embaſſies and negotiations; upon the king's marriage from the queen, and the grand-duke; on the marriage of the princeſs Catharine with the duke of Lorrain; on every new-years day from their ma-

jesties and queen Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to shew myself as scrupulously nice about these presents, and others of the same nature, as I did when they were offered to me with interested views. However, I would not receive any thing in this manner without its being expressed in a brevet, which I entreated his majesty to grant me for each of these gifts, which, tho' in jewels and trinkets, composed a sum of one hundred thousand crowns. I sold again the lands of Dourdan for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, before my gratuities were settled to twenty thousand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king listening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendship with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularized here, and which, I believe, do not amount to less than two hundred thousand livres. Lastly, since my income was become so considerable as the reader has seen, it is not surprizing that by strictly observing a maxim, which from my earliest years I had laid down as absolutely necessary for the advantage of my domestic affairs; namely, that one ought never to spend to the whole extent of one's income, I should at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very considerable sum. If we suppose this sum to amount to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and add to it the four former ones, we shall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thousand livres, which is wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expence. I think it unnecessary to repeat here what I have formerly said, with respect to the current expences of my house.

WHAT I am going to relate concerning my transactions with the prince of Condé may appear as a matter of mere curiosity only; but I was not willing

ing to omit it, as it has some connection with the subject I am on at present. When the war broke out against the protestants under the new reign, the prince of Condé being solicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had several very fine estates, and some strong castles, proposed to me to sell them all to him. I was apprehensive that, if I refused to comply with this proposal, the war would furnish him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was sensible that his councils had not a little contributed to that resolution they had lately taken against us, and I was forewarned that he was meditating something worse with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montron, Orval, Culand, and Le-Châtelet, and with the greater willingness, as he offered me more than they had cost me, and indeed more than they were worth. Accordingly a contract was signed by us both, in which the prince of Condé obliged himself to give me twelve hundred thousand livres for those estates: he did not pay me the money down indeed; but I readily consented to wait till it suited his own conveniency.

However, I did not expect that, at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an easy method of discharging at once both the principal and interest, by demanding of the king that my estates should be confiscated, a practice which the war made then very common. His majesty was so good as to remember me on this occasion, and rejected with a kind of horror so infamous a request. When the peace was concluded, the prince found himself obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the lands of Baugy increasing, there was a necessity for yielding him that likewise, as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any side be his neighbour. He took a dislike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with those

of Muret, he reſtored to me as an equivalent for the eſtate which he ſo eagerly coveted. The exchange was not diſadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being moſt convenient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanrond, Vitrai, the marquiſate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and La-Falaiſe, inveſted with the ſame rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, A poſſeſſion which I held by the liberality and immediate grant of the king my maſter*. Thus I

† Amongſt the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his diſputes with the prince of Condé, which the preſent duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to inſert here: one is from the prince of Condé to the firſt duke of Sully; the other from the prince of Conty to the marquis de Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus) grandfather of the duke of Sully now living.

Letter from the Prince of CONDE to the Duke of SULLY.

"MONSIEUR,

"I hope to have the honour of ſeeing you ſoon. The bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's ſervice, the public good, and your friendſhip in particular, which I paſſionately covet. I beg you will aſſuredly rely on the truth of theſe profeſſions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpoſe) in what place I can have the honour of converſing with you.

I am, Monſieur,

Your couſin, and moſt humble ſervant,

HENRY de BOURBON."

Letter from the Prince of CONTY to the Marquis of BETHUNE.

"MONSIEUR,

"I am extremely preſſed by the count of Orval to conſent to the agreement he is deſirous of making with the viſcount of Meaux, for the eſtate of Chanrond; and he even offered to give me ſecurity to indemnify me againſt the warrantry my late father entered into. I would not however make him any promiſe, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do any thing in this affair without acquainting you with it; and as it is for the benefit of all parties, that this matter ſhould be ſettled, and made an end of as ſoon as poſſible, I am willing to refer my pretenſions to the judgment of the

count

got out of the diſpute with the prince, who, it muſt be confeſſed, was guilty of a double injuſtice in endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of my eſtates by procuring them to be confiſcated.

I HAVE been a witneſs of very miſerable times ſince the death of the king my maſter. The war which I ſaw kindled againſt the proteſtants, filled me with grief: I was incited by a thouſand different motives to take part in it; but I courageouſly reſiſted this ſnare: I never gave the king the leaſt reaſon to look upon me as a rebel, or an abettor of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majeſty's commands; am always ready to preſent myſelf at court whenever he is pleaſed to require it: in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of thoſe promiſes I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen.

count de Bethune your kinſman, and beg you will do ſo too, and ſubmit to what he ſhall direct. The count of Orval and the viſcount of Meaux are content to ſubmit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your conſenting to this propoſal, as otherwiſe I ſhall be obliged to do what is deſired of me, and accept of the propoſed ſecurity. I earneſtly beſeech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement. In the mean time, I am

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

ARMAND de BOURBON.

Toulouſe, 19th of Oct. 1656.

BOOK XXX.

Wherein is diſcuſſed the POLITICAL SCHEME, COMMONLY CALLED The Great Deſign of HENRY IV.

AS this part of theſe Memoirs will be chiefly taken up with an account of the great deſign of Henry IV. or the political ſcheme, by which he propoſed to govern, not only France, but all Europe; it may not be improper to begin it with ſome more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman empire, upon whoſe ruins we know it has been formed as well as all the other powers which at this day compoſe the chriſtian world.

IF we conſider all thoſe ſucceſſive changes which Rome has ſuffered from the year of the world 3064, which is that of its foundation *, its infancy, youth, and virility; its declenſion, fall and final ruin; theſe viciſſitudes, which is experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded, would almoſt incline one to believe, that empires, like all other ſublunary things, are ſubject to be the ſport, and at laſt to ſink under the preſſure of time. And if we extend this idea ſtill farther, we ſhall perhaps perceive, that they are all liable to be diſturbed or interrupted in their courſes, by certain extraordinary incidents; which for any thing we can diſcover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical diſtempers, that very frequently precipitate their

* The opinion now moſt generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome near 200 years later.

deſtruction;

deſtruction; and their cure by this diſcovery becoming eaſier, we may at leaſt recover ſome of them from thoſe criſis's which threaten their deſtruction.

But if we endeavour to diſcover more viſible and natural cauſes of the ruin of this vaſt and formidable empire, we ſhall perhaps ſoon perceive they were produced by a deviation from thoſe wiſe laws, and that ſimplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cauſe, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreſeen by the utmoſt human wiſdom; I mean, the irruptions of thoſe vaſt bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c. from whom, both ſeparately and united, the Roman empire received ſuch violent ſhocks, that it was at laſt overthrown by them: Rome was three times ſacked by theſe Barbarians ‡; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genſeric, king of the Vandals, under Martin; and in 546, under Juſtinian, by Totila and the Goths. Now if it be true, that after this, the city retained the ſhadow of what ſhe had been; if we muſt regard her as diveſted of the empire of the world, when her weakneſs and the abuſes of her government made this event to be looked upon, not ſimply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact, already arrived; the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentine III. to whom it will be doing a favour, to call him the laſt emperor of the Eaſt *; for ſeveral of thoſe emperors whom he ſuc-

‡ Theſe three epochas are not quite juſt; the firſt was in 410, inſtead of 414; the ſecond in 455, or 456; and the third in 524, under Tagus, ſucceſſor of Totila, and the laſt king of the Goths: the ſacking the city this laſt time laſted forty days,

* It would be unjuſt, ſurely, to refuſe the title of emperors of the Eaſt to Valentinian III. to Honorius, &c. The expreſſions here uſed by our author ſhould not be underſtood in their moſt rigorous ſenſe, but only as meaning an empire weakened, and approaching to its final deſtruction.

ceeded were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was torn and divided, and the ſhattered remnants left to be the ſpoil of the Barbarians, who, indeed, by their conqueſts, acquired an equal right to them.

ROME, nevertheleſs, by intervals, beheld ſome faint appearances of a revival; thoſe of which ſhe was moſt ſenſible were under the reign of the great Conſtantine, whoſe victories once more united this vaſt body under one head; but when he tranſported the ſeat of his empire from Rome to Conſtantinople, he, by that ſtep, without being ſenſible of it, contributed more to the deſtruction of a work which had coſt him ſo much labour, than all the ill conduct of his predeceſſors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing his empire equally between his three ſons. Theodoſius, who by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himſelf in the ſame circumſtances with Conſtantine, would not perhaps have committed the ſame fault, had he not been influenced by the force of Conſtantine's example; but this in a manner neceſſarily obliged him to divide his empire in two; Arcadius had the Eaſt, Honorius the Weſt: and from that time there never was any hopes nor opportunity of reuniting them.

ACCORDING to the order of nature, by which the deſtruction of one king becomes the inſtrument for the production of others; ſo, in proportion, as the moſt diſtant members of the empire of the Eaſt fell off from it, from thence there aroſe kingdoms; though indeed they did not at firſt bear that rank. The moſt antient of theſe (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius) is, undoubtedly, that which is founded in Gaul by the French, ſo called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moſelle, to aſſiſt them in their deliverance from the oppreſſion of the Roman

man armies. It being a cuſtom among theſe Franks or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever perſon they choſe to be their leader; if the firſt or ſecond of theſe chiefs have not borne it, it is certain, at leaſt, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clavius, who was the fifth, were inveſted with it §, and ſome of them ſupported it with ſo much glory; among others, Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injuſtice to refuſe them this dignity; that their worthy ſucceſſor Charlemagne, in Gaul, revived an imperfect image of the now extinguiſhed empire in the Eaſt: this indeed was facilitated by thoſe natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war; and a great plenty of all things ſerving the different neceſſities of life, joined to a very great conveniency for commerce, ariſing from its ſituation, which renders it the centre of four of the principal powers of Europe; Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

LET us here juſt ſay one word upon the three races which compoſe the ſucceſſion of our kings: in the firſt of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I. and Clovis II. Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne, in the ſecond, who have raiſed themſelves above the common level of their race. Take away theſe ſix from the thirty-five, which we

§ The whole of what is here ſaid, may be allowed to be right: according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II. which was long before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c. firſt eſtabliſhed himſelf on this ſide of the Rhine. They firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves on the other ſide of the Rhine, about the middle of the third century, and extended themſelves, nearly from the Texel, as far as Frankfort. This revolt of a part of Gaul againſt the Romans, happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III. and the author's opinion on the eſtabliſhment of the French in Gaul, is confirmed by a learned academic, who has clear-ed up this critical point as much as it was poſſible (the late abbé Du-Bos.) Hiſt. Crit. de l'etab. de la monarchie Franç. dans les Gaules. Tom. I. liv. i. ch. 17. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8.

compute in theſe two races, and all the reſt, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the ſhadow of kings; though among them we may diſtinguiſh ſome good qualities in Sigebert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Lewis le Debonnaire, which, however, ended in his repenting the loſs of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloiſter.

THE Carlovingian race having reigned obſcurely, and ended ſo too, the crown then deſcended upon a third; the four firſt kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wiſe and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had loſt much of its original ſplendor, for from its immenſe extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very near the ſame bounds which it has at this day; with this difference, that though they might have been deſirous to reſtore its ancient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings ſubject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to chuſe, and even to govern their ſovereigns, left them no means by which they could ſucceed in ſuch an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they purſued was, to condemn arbitrary power to an abſolute ſilence; and, in its place, to ſubſtitute equity itſelf: a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the conſent of the great men and the principal cities, and almoſt always in conſequence of the deciſion of an aſſembly of the ſtates. A conduct ſo moderate and prudent put an end to all factions, and ſtifled all conſpiracies, which are fatal to the ſtate or the ſovereign. Regularity, œconomy, a diſtinction of merit, ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, all the virtues which we ſuppoſe neceſſary qualifications for the good of a family, where what characterized this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what perhaps

haps we may never ſee again, an uninterrupted peace for one hundred twenty-two years: what theſe gained by it for themſelves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salic law could never have procured them, was, the advantage of introducing into this houſe an hereditary right to the crown. But they, nevertheleſs, thought it a neceſſary precaution, not to declare their eldeſt ſons for their ſucceſſors till they had modeſtly aſked the conſent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and uſually by having them crowned in their own life-time, and ſeated with them upon the throne,

PHILIP II. whom Lewis VII. his father, cauſed to be crowned, and reign with him in this manner, was the firſt who neglected to obſerve this ceremony between the ſovereign and his people: ſeveral victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own ſubjects, which gained him the ſurname of Auguſtus, ſerved to open him a paſſage to abſolute power; and a notion of the fitneſs and legality of this power, by the aſſiſtance of favourites, miniſters, and others, became afterwards ſo ſtrongly imprinted in his ſucceſſors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the moſt profound good policy, to act contrary to thoſe maxims; the general and particular utility of which had been ſo effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or perhaps without any conception of the fatal conſequences which ſuch a proceeding, againſt a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even neceſſarily would incur *; of which they might eaſily

* The abbé Du-Bos, from the ſame principle with our author, draws quite different concluſions, which, to me, appear to be as juſt, as theſe are the contrary, in that excellent work of his, the deſign of which is, to refute the error into which the author of theſe Memoirs has here fallen: "This error," ſays he, Diſc. Prelim. p. 51. "would lead one to ſuppoſe, that whatever has been done by the ſucceſſors of Hugh Capet, in favour of the royal authority, whether "in freeing the ſubjects from their vaſſalage to the lords, or in placing "royal officers in fiefs of any conſequence, or by diveſting the "lords of the power which they exerciſed, of a trembling their vaſ-

"ſals

have become ſenſible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourſe, to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny with which they ſaw themſelves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any other than that kind of conſtrained obedience which always inclines them to embrace with eagerneſs, all opportunities of mutiny. This was the ſource of a thouſand bloody wars: that by which almoſt all France was ravaged by the Engliſh; that which we had with Italy, Burgundy, Spain; all of them can be attributed to no other cauſes, than the civil diſſenſions by which they were preceded: and here the weakeſt ſide, ſtifling the voice of honour, and the intereſt of the nation, conſtantly called in foreigners to aſſiſt them in the ſupport of their tottering liberties. Theſe were ſhameful and fatal remedies: but from that time they were conſtantly employed, down even to our doors, by the houſe of Lorrain, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at firſt appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the ſame ſource, was a general corruption of manners, a thirſt for riches, and a moſt ſhameful degree of luxury: theſe, ſometimes ſeparately, and ſometimes united, were alternate cauſes and effects of many of our miſeries.

" ſals, to make war upon other lords their neighbours; or by pur-
" ſuing other methods which ſovereigns only juſtly make uſe of; have
" all of them been only ſo many attempts to deſtroy the primitive
" conſtitution of the kingdom. Were this true, we could then con-
" ſider Lewis le Gros, Philip Auguſtus, and the other moſt illuſ-
" trious kings of the third race, in no other light than as ſo many
" tyrants: tho' they have only reclaimed the impreſcriptible rights
" of their crown and people, from thoſe uſurpers, who, in the ninth
" and tenth centuries, had ſeized on both. Indeed theſe princes, by
" thus recovering a part of their rights, have been ſo far from doing
" any injury to the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom, that they
" have thereby only reſtored, ſo far as in their power, its primitive
" ſtate." And this he afterwards proves to a demonſtration, in the ſixth book of the ſame work. See alſo the Memoirs of M. de Foncemagne, both with reſpect to the Salic law and the ſucceſſion to the crown, which we have cited before.

THUS,

THUS, in a few words, I have expoſed the various ſpecies of our bad policy, with reſpect both to the form of the government, ſucceſſively ſubjected to the will of the people, the ſoldiers, the nobles, the ſtates, and the kings; and in regard to the perſons likewiſe of theſe laſt, whether dependent, elective, hereditary, or abſolute.

FROM the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings: we may find a thouſand things to admire in Philip Auguſtus, Saint-Lewis, Philip le Bel, Charles le Sage, Charles VII. and Lewis XII. But it is to be lamented, that ſo many virtues, or great qualities, have been exerciſed upon no better principles; with what pleaſure might we beſtow upon them the titles of great kings, could we but conceal that their people were miſerable: what might we not, in particular, ſay of Lewis IX? of the forty-four years which he reigned, the firſt twenty of them exhibits a ſcene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven laſt of Henry the Great. But I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been deſtroyed in the twenty-four following; wherein it appears, that the exceſſive taxes upon the ſubjects, to ſatisfy an ill-judged and deſtructive devotion; immenſe ſums tranſported into the moſt diſtant countries, for the ranſom of priſoners; ſo many thouſand ſubjects ſacrificed; ſo many illuſtrious houſes extinguiſhed; cauſed an univerſal mourning throughout France, and all together a general calamity.

LET us for once, if it is poſſible, fix our principles; and being, from long experience, convinced, that the happineſs of mankind can never ariſe from war, of which we ought to have been perſuaded long ago; let us upon this principle, take a curſory view of the hiſtory of our monarchy. We will paſs by the wars of Clovis and his predeceſſors, becauſe they ſeem to have been, in ſome degree, neceſſary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but

but what ſhall we ſay of thoſe wars, in which the four ſons of Clovis, the four ſons of Clotaire I. and their deſcendants, were engaged, during the uninterrupted courſe of one hundred and ſixty years? and of thoſe alſo, by which, for the ſpace of one hundred ſeventy-two other years, commencing with Lewis le Debonnaire, the kingdom was harraſſed and torn? What follows is ſtill worſe: The ſlighteſt knowledge of our hiſtory is ſufficient to convince any one, that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry VIII. to the peace of Vervins: and, in ſhort, all this long period may be called a war of near four hundred years duration. After this examination, from whence it inconteſtibly appears, that our kings have ſeldom thought of any thing but how to carry on their wars, we cannot but be ſcrupulous in beſtowing on them the title of, Truly Great kings; though we ſhall, nevertheleſs, render them all the juſtice which appears to have been their due: for I confeſs (as indeed it would be unjuſt to attribute to them only, a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that ſeveral of theſe princes were ſometimes in ſuch circumſtances as rendered the wars juſt, and even neceſſary: and from hence, when indeed there were no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and laſting glory. For herein, from the manner in which ſeveral of theſe wars were foreſeen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils diſcover ſuch maſter-ſtrokes of policy, and in their perſons ſuch noble inſtances of courage, as are deſerving of our higheſt praiſes. From whence then can proceed the error of ſo many exploits, in appearance ſo glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devaſtation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet ſeems ſcarce ſenſible, that in her preſent ſituation, a ſituation in which ſhe has been, for ſeveral centuries, every attempt which ſhall tend to her ſubjection, or only to the too conſiderably

ſiderably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies, at the expence of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impoſſible enterpriſe. There are none of theſe monarchies, but whoſe deſtruction will require a concurrence of cauſes infinitely ſuperior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what ſeems proper and neceſſary to be done, is to ſupport them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in conſequence acts otherwiſe, may indeed cauſe torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

WHEN I obſerved, that the extent of France is not now ſo conſiderable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, moſt certainly, was not, that this diminution ſhould be conſidered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the ſad effects of having had ambitious princes, from time to time, for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition, it would be the cauſe of ſtill greater evils; and it may be generally obſerved, that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are ſubject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The baſis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preſerving it within its preſent limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; ſeals, and chains of mountains almoſt inacceſſible, are all ſo many barriers, which we may conſider as fixed even by nature. Beſides, what is it that France wants! will ſhe not always be the richeſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe? It muſt be granted. All therefore which the French have to wiſh or deſire is, that Heaven grant them pious, good, and wiſe kings; and that theſe kings may employ their power in preſerving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprize can truly be to them either profitable or ſucceſsful.

AND this explains to us the nature of the deſign which

which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution, when it pleaſed God to take him to himſelf, too ſoon by ſome years for the happineſs of the world. From hence likewiſe we may perceive the motives to his purſuing a conduct ſo oppoſite to any thing that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads: and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of Great. His deſigns were not inſpired by a mean and deſpicable ambition, nor guided by baſe and partial intereſts: to render France happy for ever was his deſire; and ſhe cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unleſs all Europe likewiſe partake of it; ſo it was the happineſs of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner ſo ſolid and durable, that nothing ſhould afterwards be able to ſhake its foundations.

I MUST confeſs I am under ſome apprehenſions, leſt this ſcheme † ſhould at firſt be conſidered as one

† The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preſerved to poſterity an account of the great deſign of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the hiſtorians, authors of Memoirs, or other writers, that were cotemporary with that prince; their ſilence in this manner proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to ſay any thing with certainty about it. The world did not begin to deſcant upon it till the *Memoirs of Sully*, wherein it is ſo clearly deſcribed, were publiſhed; and among all thoſe who have conſidered it ever ſince about the middle of the ſeventeenth century, I find ſcarce any who have queſtioned the poſſibility of executing it: doubtleſs, becauſe they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed, to be convinced, even from the mouths of thoſe who had been witneſſes of the preparations and diſpoſitions which were made, that all the meaſures had been taken preciſely in the ſame manner as related by the duke of Sully; and conſequently, that it would have had but few of thoſe obſtacles to encounter which have ſince been raiſed againſt it.

The author of a manuſcript diſcourſe in the king's library, which to me appears to be the moſt ancient Memoirs we have of that time, ſeems not in the leaſt to have doubted of ſucceſs in its execution. And M. de Perefixe, who in the third part of his hiſtory of Henry the Great, has given a ſhort but very accurate account of the ſcheme, ſays poſitively that it would have ſucceeded; and farther confirms his aſſertion by proofs, which he gives, p. 388. and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has ſaid of it, anno 1609, and 1610, does not appear to have been of a different ſentiment.

of thoſe darling chimeras, or idle political ſpeculations, in which a mind ſuſceptible of ſtrange and

ment. The marechal de Baſſompierre alſo, in his Journal, tom. I. ſeems to be in its favour. To theſe authorities we may alſo join that of the author of the life of the duke de Epernon, and ſome others, who all ſeem to be of the ſame opinion. Indeed, till the beginning of the preſent century, all authors appear to have been unanimous in this point; and ſeveral of our modern hiſtorians have joined them herein.

Vittorio (Mem. Recond. tom. I. p. 29, 514. tom. II. p. 45, &c.) is the firſt that I know by whom this great enterprize has been treated as abſurd and impoſſible: but the ignorance which he ſhews in the whole affair, even in thoſe points which are the leaſt conteſted: his attachment to the Spaniſh politics, and his diſtance from the perſons of Henry IV. and his miniſter, which is every way apparent in all he ſays on the ſubject, render him, in this reſpect, very juſtly exceptionable: his ſentiments have been adopted by the author of the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 44. and for a ſimilar reaſon of attachment to the queen, mother of Lewis XIII. But this writer, ſuch as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion, than the age of Henry IV. who was then near ſixty, appears alſo to have been ſo entirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without ſcruple, pronounce, he was ignorant of the diſpoſition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the ſpace of three years, and that he condemns the deſign without underſtanding it.

I have much greater reverence for the authority of ſome modern politicians, who conſider it as a kind of impoſſibility, thus to change the face of all Europe, in the manner propoſed by Henry IV. and who imagine, that in our days a much more happy expedient has been diſcovered, whereby to obtain the equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the ancient council of the Amphyctions: what I mean, is the precaution now obſerved, of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of every particular treaty. But all thoſe calamities which we have ſuffered in conſequence of war, do but too plainly evince its inſufficiency. In regard to the main ſtreſs of the queſtion, I agree with them, that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be conſtituted in the manner propoſed by Henry the Great; nevertheleſs I believe, without pretending to ſubject any one to my opinion, that thoſe who treat this prince's deſign as a chimera, do not pay all the neceſſary attention to the circumſtances of thoſe times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being ſubjected to the houſe of Auſtria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and continued daily to excite, found herſelf in a manner compelled to have recourſe to extraordinary means to put a period to her miſeries.

I cannot finiſh this remark better, than in the words of M. l'Abbé de Saint Pierre, in his Diſcours ſur le Grand Homme: "From "hence we may perceive, that if Henry IV. king of France, had "executed his celebrated and well-projected deſign, whereby to ren- "der peace perpetual and univerſal among the ſovereigns of Europe,

"he

ſingular ideas, may be ſo eaſily engaged: thoſe who ſhall thus think of it, muſt be of that ſort of people on whom the firſt impreſſions upon a prejudiced imagination, have the force of truth; or thoſe, who by their diſtance from the times, and their ignorance of the circumſtances, confound the wiſeſt and nobleſt enterpriſes that have ever been formed, with thoſe chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their power, have in all ages amuſed themſelves in forming. I confeſs, that if we attentively examine the deſigns which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from ſloth, and even timidity itſelf, we muſt be ſurpriſed to behold ſovereigns plunged blindly into ſchemes, ſpecious perhaps in appearance, but which at bottom have not the leaſt degree of poſſibility. The mind of man, with ſo much complacency, nay, even with ſo much ardour, purſues whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is ſorry to be made ſenſible, that theſe objects have frequently nothing real or ſolid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an oppoſite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we uſually fail in the execution of great deſigns, from not commencing and continuing them with

" he would have procured the greateſt benefit that it was poſſible, not " only to his own ſubjects, but to all the chriſtian kingdoms; and " even, by a neceſſary conſequence, to the world in general: a be- " nefit of which all generations, preſent and to come, would have " participated down to the lateſt time; a benefit, by which we ſhould " have been exempted from thoſe terrible and numerous evils, which " are the effects of foreign and domeſtic wars; a benefit, which " would have been the ſource of all thoſe ſweets which naturally flow " from an uninterrupted and univerſal tranquillity: if, I ſay, he had " been ſo happy as to have executed this great deſign, it would have " rendered him, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt man the world " ever has, or probably ever will, produce." After ſome farther reflections upon the means ſtill more practicable, this judicious author adds: "This prince, however, has always had the honour of being " conſidered as the author of the moſt important invention and moſt " uſeful diſcovery, for the benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared " in the world; the execution of which may, perhaps, be reſerved " by Providence for the greateſt and moſt capable of his ſucceſſors."

ſufficient

ſufficient vigour and ſpirit; ſo likewiſe we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, becauſe we do not thoroughly and properly conſider them in all their dependencies and conſequences. I have myſelf been more difficult to perſuade in this matter, than perhaps any of thoſe who ſhall read theſe Memoirs; and this I conſider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprizing temper, which make ſo conſiderable a part of my character.

I REMEMBER the firſt time the king ſpoke to me of a political ſyſtem, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I ſcarce paid any attention to what he ſaid, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himſelf, or perhaps to ſhew, that his thoughts on political ſubjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than moſt others: my reply was a mixture of pleaſantry and compliment. Henry ſaid no more at that time. He often confeſſed to me afterwards, that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this ſubject, from a principle of ſhame, which many labour under, leſt they ſhould diſcloſe deſigns which might appear ridiculous or impoſſible. I was aſtoniſhed when, ſome time after, he renewed our converſation on this head, and continued from year to year, to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in this ſcheme.

I HAD been very far from thinking ſeriouſly about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the firſt view of the deſign, which ſuppoſed a re-union of all the different ſtates of Europe; immenſe expences, at a time when France could ſcarce ſupply her own neceſſities; a concatenation of event, which to me appeared infinite: theſe were conſiderations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was ſome illuſion in it: I recollected ſome of thoſe enterprizes in which we had endeavoured to

engage

engage Europe. I conſidered thoſe in particular which had been formed by ſome of our kings, from much leſs conſiderable motives, and I felt myſelf diſguſted with this, from the bad ſucceſs of all the former. The diſpoſition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage againſt France, when ſhe would have aſſiſted them to diſſipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone to me appeared an unſurmountable obſtacle.

STRONGLY prejudiced by this opinion, I uſed my utmoſt efforts to undeceive Henry, who, on his ſide, ſurpriſed not to find me of his ſentiment in any one point, immediately undertook, and readily ſuccedeed in convincing me, that my thus indiſcriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that every thing at leaſt was not blameable, could proceed from nothing but ſtrong prejudices. I could not refuſe, at his ſolicitations, to uſe my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehenſion of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I ſtudied all its proportions and dimenſions, if I may ſay ſo; and I diſcovered in them a regularity and mutual dependence, of which, when I only conſidered the deſign in a confuſed and careleſs manner, I had not been at all ſenſible. The benefit which would manifeſtly ariſe from it to all Europe, was what moſt immediately ſtruck me, as being in effect the plaineſt and moſt evident; but the means to effect ſo good a deſign were, therefore, what I heſitated at the longeſt. The general ſituation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not conſider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till proper opportunity, we had all thoſe reſources whereby to prepare ourſelves, which time affords thoſe who know how to make the beſt uſe of it. I was at laſt convinced, that however diſproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a

courſe

courſe of years, during which every thing ſhould as much as poſſible be made ſubſervient to the great object in view, would ſurmount many difficulties. It is indeed ſomewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the moſt difficult of any, ſhould at laſt become the moſt eaſy.

HAVING thus ſeen all parts of the deſign in their juſt points of view, having thoroughly conſidered and calculated, and from thence diſcovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myſelf confirmed in the opinion, that the deſign of Henry the Great was, upon the whole, juſt in its intention, poſſible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: ſo that, upon all occaſions, I was the firſt to recal the king to his engagements, and ſometimes to convince him by thoſe very arguments which he himſelf had taught me.

THE conſtant attention this prince paid to all affairs tranſacted round him, from an effect of thoſe ſingularly unhappy circumſtances, by which, in almoſt every inſtant of his life, he found himſelf embarraſſed, had been the cauſe of his forming this deſign, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III. he conſidered the humbling of the houſe of Auſtria as what was abſolutely neceſſary for his ſecurity; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth * for his thought of the de-

* The preſent duke of Sully is poſſeſſed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, ſuppoſed to have been wrote by him to queen Elizabeth, though this princeſs is not named, neither in the body of the letter, nor in the ſuperſcription, which is in theſe words: *To her who merits immortal praiſe.* The terms in which Henry herein ſpeaks of a certain political project, which he calls, *The moſt excellent and rare enterprize that ever the human mind conceived*-----*a thought rather divine than human*; the praiſes which he beſtows upon *this diſcourſe ſo well connected and demonſtrative of what would be neceſſary for the government of empires and kingdoms*----; on thoſe *conceptions and reſolutions* from which nothing leſs may be hoped than *moſt remarkable iſſues both of honour and glory*; all theſe paſſages can relate to none, but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great deſign in queſtion concerning

ſign, it is, however, certain, that this great queen had herſelf conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which ſucceeded in 1595, and that againſt Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aſide all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-eſtabliſhment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts upon his firſt deſign, to execute which, appeared then more impoſſible, or at leaſt more improbable, than ever.

He, nevertheleſs, communicated it by letters to Elizabeth, and this was what inſpired them with ſo ſtrong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princeſs came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at laſt begun by the voyage which I made to this princeſs. I found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great deſign might be ſucceſsfully executed; and, notwithſtanding the difficulties which ſhe apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions, and the equality of the powers, ſhe did not to me appear at all to doubt of its ſucceſs, which ſhe chiefly expected, for a reaſon, the juſtneſs of which I have ſince been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was only contrary to the deſign of ſome princes, whoſe ambitious views were ſufficiently known to all Europe? this difficulty, from which the neceſſity of the deſign more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its ſucceſs. She farther ſaid, that its execution by any other means than that of arms,

concerning which it from hence evidently appears, that the queen of England had by letters diſcloſed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which theſe extracts are taken, is dated from Paris, the 12th of July; but without the date of the year. Lettres de Henry le Grand.

would

would be very desirable, as this has always something odious in it: but she confessed, that indeed it would be hardly possible to begin it any otherwise. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different dispositions, is due to this queen; and sufficiently shew, that in respect of wisdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, she was not inferior to any king, the most truly deserving of that title.

It must indeed be considered as a very great misfortune, that Henry could not at this time second the intention of the queen of England; who wished to have the design put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he scarce hoped to see the time when the finishing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted, was a work of several years; and unhappily he had himself seen forty-eight when he began it: he pursued it, nevertheless, with the greatest vigour. The edict of Nantz had been published with this view, and every other means was used which might gain the respect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the same time, applied ourselves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We considered the death of the king of Spain as the most favourable event that could happen to our design, but it received so violent a shock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes. Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor king James, the successor to Elizabeth, when he was acquainted with his character, would any of them so readily consent to support him in his design, as this princess had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, comforted him a little for the loss of Elizabeth. The truce between Spain and the Low

Countries may alſo be numbered among the incidents favourable to it.

YET, if we conſider all the obſtacles which afterwards aroſe in his own kingdom, from the proteſtants, the catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conſpired againſt it. Could it be imagined that Henry, in his whole council, ſhould not find one perſon, beſides myſelf, to whom he could, without danger, diſcloſe the whole of his deſigns? and that the reſpect due to him could ſcarce reſtrain thoſe who appeared moſt devoted to his ſervice, from treating what, with the greateſt circumſpection, he had entruſted them with, as wild and extravagant chimeras? But nothing diſcouraged Henry, who was an able politician and a better judge than all his council, and than all his kingdom: when he perceived that, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable ſituation, he then conſidered the ſucceſs as infallible.

NOR will this his judgment, when thoroughly conſidered, be found ſo preſumptuous as, from a ſlight examination, it may to ſome appear. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it ſhould promote the means by which he propoſed to fix in the poſition, towards which, by his efforts, it for ſome time had tended. Theſe means he rendered ſo eaſy to execute, that it would ſcarce require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily ſacrifice, for advantages much leſs real, leſs certain, and leſs durable. What they would gain by it, beſides the ineſtimable benefits ariſing from peace, would greatly exceed all the expences they would be at. What reaſon then could any of them have to oppoſe it? and, if they did not oppoſe it, how could the houſe of Auſtria ſupport itſelf againſt powers, in whom the deſire and pleaſure of depriving it of that ſtrength which

it.

it had uſed only to oppreſs them, would have raiſed againſt it as many open as it had ſecret enemies; that is, all Europe entire? Nor would theſe princes have any reaſon to be jealous of the reſtorer of their liberty; for he was ſo far from ſeeking to re-imburſe himſelf for all the expences which his generoſity would hereby engage him in, that his intention was voluntarily and for ever to relinquiſh all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conqueſt, but by all other juſt and lawful means. By this he would have diſcovered the ſecret to convince all his neighbours that his whole deſign was to ſave, both himſelf and them, thoſe immenſe ſums which the maintenance of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers, ſo many fortified places, and ſo many military expences require; to free them for ever from the fear of thoſe bloody cataſtrophes ſo common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repoſe; and, finally, to unite them all in an indiſſoluble bond of ſecurity and friendſhip, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally viſit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expence of a train of attendants, which princes uſe at beſt only for oſtentation, and frequently to conceal their miſery. Does it not indeed reflect ſhame and reproach on a people who affect to be ſo poliſhed and refined in their manners, that all their pretended improvements have not yet (I will not ſay procured them tranquillity, but only) guarded them from theſe barbarities which they deteſt in nations the moſt ſavage and uncultivated? and to deſtroy theſe pernicious ſeeds of confuſion and diſorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cauſe, could any ſcheme have been more happily and perfectly contrived than that of Henry the Great?

HERE then is all that could be reaſonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act, ſucceſs is the work of a more

mighty hand. Senſible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the ſcheme in queſtion, from this circumſtance only, that it was formed by the two potentates whom poſterity will always conſider as the moſt perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I inſiſt that it belongs only to princes, who, like him, have had a conſtant ſucceſſion of obſtacles to encounter in all their deſigns. Theſe, I ſay, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obſtacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in ſupport of their opinions, ſurely we may abide by their ſentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I ſhall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received from the loſs of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far ſuperior to that which his reign had acquired †. There remains only to explain the ſeveral parts of the deſign, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin by what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Chriſtendom, the Roman and the reformed; but, as this latter admits of ſeveral variations in its worſhip, which render it, if not as different from itſelf as from the Roman, at leaſt as far from being re-united, it is therefore neceſſary to divide it in two, one of which may be called the reformed, and the other the proteſtant religion. The manner in which theſe three religions prevail in Europe is extremely various. Italy and Spain remain in poſſeſſion of the Roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The reformed religion ſubſiſts in France with the Roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakeſt.

† From hence we may diſcover what credit ſhould be given to Siri, when he ſays, that the ſole paſſion of Henry the Great was to amaſs riches, that his miniſter forced him into the deſign againſt his inclination; and that the duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the ſole author of it, was himſelf prepoſſeſſed in its favour only from mere obſtinacy, or perhaps from motives of ſelf-intereſt.

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England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and Switzerland, have alſo a mixture of the ſame kind, but with this difference, that in them the proteſtant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all theſe, and even in ſeveral of its circles, as well as in Poland, ſhews them equal favour. I ſay nothing of Muſcovy and Ruſſia. Theſe vaſt countries, which are not leſs than ſix hundred leagues in length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part ſtill idolaters, and in part ſchiſmatics, ſuch as Greeks and Armenians, who have introduced ſo many ſuperſtitious practices in their worſhip, that there ſcarce remains any conformity with us among them; beſides, that they belong to Aſia at leaſt as much as to Europe, we may indeed almoſt conſider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the ſame claſs with Turkey, though for theſe five hundred years, we have ranked them among the chriſtian powers.

EACH of theſe three religions being now eſtabliſhed in Europe, in ſuch a manner that there is not the leaſt appearance that any of them can be deſtroyed, and experience having ſufficiently demonſtrated the inutility and danger of ſuch an enterprize, the beſt therefore that can be done, is to preſerve, and even ſtrengthen all of them in ſuch a manner, nevertheleſs, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new ſects or opinions, which ſhould carefully be ſuppreſſed on their firſt appearance. God himſelf, by manifeſtly ſupporting what the catholics were pleaſed to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not leſs conformable to the Holy Scripture, than confirmed by its examples; and, beſides, the unſurmountable difficulty of forcing the pope's authority to be received in thoſe places where it is no longer acknowledged, renders what is here propoſed abſolutely neceſſary. Several cardinals equally ſaga-

cious and zealous, and even ſome popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V. were of this opinion.

ALL, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to ſtrengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of theſe religions, in the principles they profeſs, as there is nothing in all reſpects ſo pernicious as a liberty in belief; and thoſe nations, whoſe inhabitants profeſs ſeveral, or all theſe religions, ſhould be careful to obſerve thoſe rules which they find neceſſary to remedy the ordinary inconveniencies of a toleration, which in other reſpects they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, profeſſing the Roman religion, and being moreover the reſidence of the popes, ſhould preſerve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardſhip in obliging all its inhabitants, either to conform to it, or quit the country. The ſame regulations, very nearly, might be obſerved in regard to Spain. In ſuch ſtates as that of France, where there is at leaſt a governing religion, whoever ſhould think the regulation too ſevere, by which Calviniſm would be always ſubordinate to the religion of their prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulations would be neceſſary in any of the other nations; on violence on this account, but liberty unreſtrained, ſeeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

THUS we may perceive every thing on this head might be reduced to a few maxims, ſo much the more certain and invariable, as they were not contrary to the ſentiments of any one. The proteſtants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The catholics, doubtleſs, are of the ſame ſentiments, and the pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confeſſes himſelf not to have poſſeſſed for a long time. His ſacrificing theſe chimerical rights would be abundantly compenſated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to inveſt him, and by the honour

honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the chriſtian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealouſy, and for which it muſt be confeſſed this court, by its ſagacious conduct, has ſhewn itſelf the moſt proper of any.

ANOTHER point of the political ſcheme, which alſo concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and conſiſts in forcing thoſe entirely out of it who refuſe to conform to any of the chriſtian doctrines of religion. Should the grand duke of Tuſcany, or czar of Ruſſia, who is believed to be the ancient khan of Scythia, refuſe to enter into the aſſociation after it is propoſed to him, he ought to be treated like the Sultan of Turkey, deprived of his poſſeſſions in Europe, and confined to Aſia only, where he might, as long as he pleaſed, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almoſt conſtantly engaged againſt the Turks and Perſians.

To ſucceed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we ſuppoſe that all the chriſtian princes unanimouſly concurred in it, it would only be neceſſary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their ſeveral abilities, towards the ſupport of the forces, and all the other incidental expences, which the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize might require. Theſe reſpective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himſelf conceived on this head. The pope for this expedition ſhould have furniſhed eight thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and ten gallies; the emperor and the circles of Germany, ſixty thouſand foot, twenty thouſand horſe, five large cannons, and ten gallies or other veſſels; the king of France twenty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, twenty cannons, and ten ſhips or gallies; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, obſerving only, that theſe powers ſhould together ſupply what belonged to the

ſea ſervice in the manner moſt ſuitable to their reſpective conveniences and abilities therein; the king of Bohemia five thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and five cannons: the king of Hungary twelve thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, twenty cannons, and ſix ſhips; the duke of Savoy, or king of Lombardy, eight thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, eight cannons, and ſix gallies; the republic of Venice ten thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and twenty-five gallies; the republic of the Swiſs cantons, fifteen thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons; the republic of Holland twelve thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, twelve cannons, and twelve ſhips; the Italian republics ten thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and eight gallies; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, fifty thouſand horſe, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ſhips or gallies, equipped and maintained at the expence of thoſe powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

THIS armament of the princes and ſtates of Europe appear ſo inconſiderable and ſo little burdenſome, when compared with the forces which they uſually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps their own ſubjects, that were to have ſubſiſted, even perpetually, it would not have occaſioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy; but, beſides that the enterprizes for which it was deſtined, would not always have continued; the number and expence of it might have been diminiſhed in proportion to the neceſſities, which would always have been the ſame. Though I am perſuaded ſuch an armament would have been ſo highly approved of by all theſe princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not that any ſtranger ſhould ſhare with them in Europe, they would have ſought to join to it ſuch parts of Aſia as were moſt commodiouſly ſituated, and

and particularly the whole coaſt of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be obſerved in regard to theſe additional countries, would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the reſt of the chriſtian powers, and beſtow them on different princes; carefully obſerving to exclude thoſe who before bore rank among the ſovereigns of Europe.

THAT part of the deſign which may be conſidered as purely political, turned almoſt entirely on a firſt preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the empire, and of all the poſſeſſions in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries; in a word, to reduce it to the ſole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains. But that it might, nevertheleſs, be equally powerful with the other ſovereignties of Europe, it ſhould have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca; and, in the other iſlands on its own coaſts, the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape-Verd, with its poſſeſſions in Africa, Mexico, and the American iſlands which belong to it: countries, which alone might ſuffice to found great kingdoms: finally, the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other poſſeſſions in Aſia

FROM hence a method ſeems to preſent itſelf, whereby the houſe of Auſtria might be made amends for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is to increaſe its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by aſſiſting it to obtain, and by declaring it the ſole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter diſcover in thoſe parts. We may ſuppoſe, that on this occaſion, it would not have been neceſſary to uſe force to bring this houſe to concur in ſuch a deſign; and, indeed, even on this ſuppoſition, it was not the prince of this houſe reigning in Spain, to whom theſe parts of the world were to be ſubjected, but to different

princes, of the ſame or of different branches, who in acknowledgment of their poſſeſſions, ſhould only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at moſt, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This houſe, which is ſo very deſirous of being the moſt powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itſelf with ſo pleaſing a prehemi-nence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

The ſteps taken by the houſe of Auſtria to arrive at univerſal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his ſon, have rendered this ſeverity as juſt as it is neceſſary; and I will venture to ſay, that this houſe would not have had any reaſonable cauſe to complain of it. It is true, it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially conſidered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it neceſſary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himſelf, the moſt powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions, which, at Smalcalde, he ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, in preſence of ſeven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four proteſtant towns; the landgrave of Heſſe and the prince of Anhalt being ſpeakers for them all. He ſwore, I ſay, never to act contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull, obtained under Charles IV. unleſs it were to amplify them, and even that only with the expreſs conſent and advice of the ſovereign princes of Germany; not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their conſent; not to beſtow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to uſe any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conqueſts which might be made, to his own particular profit. He, in particular,

ticular, formally renounced all pretences of hereditary right in his houſe to the imperial dignity; and, according to the ſeveral articles of the golden bull, he ſwore never in his life-time to recognize a king of the Romans. When the proteſtants of Germany after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, conſented to have the imperial crown placed on his head, they were careful to make him renew his engagements in regard to all theſe articles, and to all theſe new regulations relative to the free exerciſe of their religion.

As to the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical uſurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at ſo prodigious an expence (I ſpeak, in particular, of Italy and the Low-Countries) as all its treaſures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and beſides, by inveſting it with the excluſive privilege above-mentioned, of gaining new eſtabliſhments, and appropriating to its own uſe the mines and treaſures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for theſe new acquiſitions would be at leaſt as conſiderable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than thoſe. But what is here propoſed muſt not be underſtood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to thoſe countries; on the contrary, it ſhould be free and open to every one, and the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of conſidering this ſtipulation, which is of the greateſt conſequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reaſon to regard it as a farther advantage.

FROM a farther examination and conſideration of theſe diſpoſitions, I do not doubt but the houſe of Auſtria would have accepted the propoſed conditions, without being forced to it; but, ſuppoſing the contrary, what would a reſiſtance have ſignified? The

promiſe made to all the princes of Europe, of enriching themſelves by the territories of which this houſe was to be diveſted, would deprive it of all hopes of aſſiſtance from any of them.

Upon the whole then it appears, that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what aſſured Henry the Great of the ſucceſs of his deſign: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly thoſe of Germany, might aſpire: and this dignity would be ſo much the more deſirable, though, according to its original inſtitution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the firſt and chief magiſtrate of the whole chriſtian republic; and as we may ſuppoſe this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the moſt worthy, all his privileges in this reſpect, inſtead of being diminiſhed, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helvetic republics would be more conſiderable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a reſpectful homage. The electors would ſtill continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of maintaining the king of the Romans; with this reſtriction only, That the election ſhould not be made twice together out of the ſame family. The firſt to have been elected in this manner, was the elector of Bavaria, who was alſo, in conſequence of the partition, to have had thoſe territories poſſeſſed by the houſe of Auſtria which joined to his own on the ſide of Italy.

The reſt of theſe territories were to have been divided and equally diſtributed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Griſons, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the marquis of Baden, Anſpach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been conſtituted an elective kingdom, by annexing to it Moravia, Sileſia, and Luſatia. Hungary was alſo to have been an elective kingdom, and the pope, the emperor, the kings of France,

France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the right of nomination to it: and becauſe this kingdom may be conſidered as the barrier of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, it was to have been rendered the moſt powerful and able to reſiſt them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the monarchy of Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acquired in Tranſilvania, Boſnia, Sclavonia, and Croatia. The ſame electors were to have obliged themſelves, by oath, to aſſiſt it upon all occaſions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their ſuffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue; but always to confer the dignity on a prince who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, ſhould be generally acknowledged as moſt proper. Poland being, from its nearneſs to Turkey, Muſcovy, and Tartary, in the ſame ſituation with Hungary, was alſo to have been an elective kingdom, by the ſame eight potentates; and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever ſhould be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour thoſe diſputes which it had with all its other neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-compté, Alſace, Tirol, and other territories, was to have been united into a ſovereign republic, governed by a council or ſenate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians, were to have been umpires.

THE changes to be made in Italy were, that the pope ſhould be declared a ſecular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title ſhould poſſeſs Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which ſhould be indiſſolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony: but in caſe the holy father had oppoſed this, which indeed could ſcarce have been ſuppoſed, the diſpoſition muſt then have

have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and diſpoſed as the electoral king ſhould have determined. Sicily was to have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the ſame eight principal potentates, upon condition that it ſhould render homage for it to every pope, who ſhould bear the title of Immediate chief of the whole Italian republic; otherwiſe, for this reaſon, called The republic of the church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government: Bologna and Ferrara were to have been rendered free cities; and all theſe governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thouſand crowns.

Of the three great republics of Europe, it appears, upon the firſt glance, that this would have been the moſt brilliant and the richeſt. Nevertheleſs, it would not have been ſo; for what belonged to the duke of Savoy was not comprized herein. His territories were to have been conſtituted one of the greateſt monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have borne the title of the kingdom of Lombardy; wherein, beſide the territory ſo called, the Milaneſe and Montferrat would alſo have been comprized; and the duke of Mantua, in exchange for theſe, was to have the duchy of Cremona. An authentic teſtimony of the inſtitution would have been given by the pope, the emperor, and the other ſovereigns of the chriſtian republic.

Among all theſe different diſmemberings, we may obſerve that France received nothing for itſelf, but the glory of diſtributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even ſometimes ſaid, with equal moderation and good ſenſe, that were theſe diſpoſitions

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once firmly eſtabliſhed, he would have voluntarily conſented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of ſuffrages *. Nevertheleſs, as the diſtricts of Artois, Hainault, Cambreſis, Tournay, Namure, and Luxembourg, might more ſuitably be annexed to France than any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry; but to have been divided into ten diſtinct governments, and beſtowed on ſo many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as ſovereigns.

In regard to England it was preciſely the ſame: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the ſcheme, probably from an obſervation made by this queen, that the Britannic iſles, in all the different ſtates through which they had paſſed, whether under one or ſeveral monarchs, elective, hereditary, maſculine or feminine, and among all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great diſappointments or misfortunes, but when their ſovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It ſeems, indeed, as if they were concentered in it even by nature, and their happineſs appears to depend intirely on themſelves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they ſeek only to maintain peace in the three nations ſubject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and cuſtoms. To render every thing equal between France and England, Brabant from the duchy of Limbourg, the juriſdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemiſh Flanders, Gallican or Imperial, were to have been formed into eight ſovereign

* What then does Siri mean, when he entertains us with the deſign which he falſly affirms Henry the Great had to join Lorrain to France, tom. I. p. 555? and to get Savoy ceded to him, tom. II. p. 61? What he ſays of the diſpoſitions, in regard to the Pope and the Venetians, &c. tom II. p. 180, is equally falſe. This writer ſeems indeed to have been in the pay of the houſe of Auſtria.

fiefs,

fiefs, to be given to ſo many princes or lords of this nation.

THESE two parts excepted, all the reſt of the ſeventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were to be erected into a free and independent ſtate, under the title of the Belgic republic; though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the prince of Orange; alſo ſome other inconſiderable indemnities for three or four other perſons. The ſucceſſion of Cleves was to have been divided among thoſe princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means whereby to gratify them at the expence of the houſe of Auſtria, as well as ſome other princes of the ſame diſtrict, to whom the imperial towns ſituated therein would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be conſidered as under the influence of the ſame law which England and France had impoſed on themſelves, would, by this diſtribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other conſiderable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual trouble which agitated theſe two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconſiderable ſervice. All theſe ceſſions, exchanges, and tranſpoſitions towards the north of Germany, were to have been determined by the kings of France, England, Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

AND now perhaps the purport of the deſign may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in ſuch a manner, that none of them might have cauſe either of envy or fear, from the poſſeſſions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen; and they were of three kinds: ſix great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four ſovereign republics. The ſix hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden,

Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were the Venetian, the Italian, or what, from its dukes, may be called the ducal, the Swiss, Helvetic or Confederate, and the Belgic or provincial republic.

THE laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all these princes, and to maintain that harmony which should be once established among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual assurances in respect to the freedom of commerce, and the measures to be taken to make all these partitions with equity, and to the general content and satisfaction of the parties: all these matters are to be understood; nor is it necessary to say any thing of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The most that could have happened would have been some trifling difficulties, which would easily have been obviated in the general council, representing all the states of Europe; the establishment of which was certainly the happiest invention that could have been conceived, to prevent those innovations which time often introduces in the wisest and most useful institutions.

THE model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the antient Amphictyons of Greece, with such alterations only as rendered it suitable to our customs, climate, and policy. It consisted of a certain number of commissaries, ministers, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the christian republic, who were to be constantly assembled as a senate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur; to discuss the different interests, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itself or with its neighbours. The form and manner

manner of proceeding in the ſenate would have been more particularly determined by the ſuffrages of the ſenate itſelf. Henry was of opinion that it ſhould be compoſed of four commiſſaries from each of the following potentates: The Emperor, the Pope, the kings of France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which all together would have compoſed a ſenate of about ſixty-ſix perſons, who ſhould have been rechoſe every three years

In regard to the place of meeting, it remained to have been determined, whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided in three, or united into one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magiſtrates, then each of them muſt have been fixed in ſuch a centre as ſhould appear to be moſt commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and ſomewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their aſſembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it muſt have been nearly in the centre of Europe, and would conſequently have been fixed in ſome one of the fourteen cities following: Mentz, Luxembourg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Francfort, Wirtzbourg, Heidelberg, Spire, Straſbourg, Bale, Bizancon.

Besides this general council, it would perhaps have been proper to have conſtituted ſome others, of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different diſtricts. For example, were ſix ſuch created, they might have been placed at Dantzick, Nuremburg, Vienna, Bologna, Conſtance; and the laſt, wherever it ſhould be judged moſt convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England, and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of theſe particular councils might have been, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould

ſhould be ſubordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whoſe deciſions, when conſidered as proceeding from the united authority of all the ſovereigns, pronounced in a manner equally free and abſolute, muſt have been regarded as ſo many final and irrevocable decrees.

But let us quit theſe ſpeculative deſigns, in which practice and experience would perhaps have cauſed many alterations; and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great deſign.

To gain one of the moſt powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his deſigns, was what Henry had always conſidered as of the utmoſt conſequence: and this was the reaſon, that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indiſſolubly united the intereſt of the two crowns of France and England, every means was uſed which might inſpire her ſucceſſor, king James, with all her ſentiments. Had I but ſucceeded in the ſolemn embaſſy, the particulars of which I have related already, ſo far as to have gained this prince's conſent to have his name appear openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, eſpecially if it had, in like manner, been ſtrengthened with the names of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negotiations: but nothing farther could be obtained of the king of England, than the ſame promiſes which were required of the other courts; namely, that he would not only not oppoſe the confederacy, but when Henry had made his deſigns public, would declare himſelf in his favour, and contribute towards it in the ſame manner as the other powers intereſted therein. A means was indeed afterwards found to obtain the execution of this promiſe, in a manner ſo much the more eaſy, as it did not diſturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was, by getting what he heſitated to undertake in his own name, executed

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by his ſon, the prince of Wales, who, as ſoon as he had obtained his father's promiſe, that he would at leaſt not obſtruct his proceedings, prevented Henry's utmoſt wiſhes; being animated with a thirſt of glory, and deſire to render himſelf worthy the eſteem and alliance of Henry, for he was to marry the eldeſt of the daughters of France. He wrote me ſeveral letters upon this ſubject, and expreſſed himſelf in the manner I have mentioned. He alſo farther ſaid, that the king of France might depend on having ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which he would oblige himſelf to bring into his ſervice whenever they ſhould be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thouſand more foot, and eight cannons, maintained in all reſpects at the expence of England for three years at leaſt. The king of Sweden did not ſhew himſelf leſs zealous for the common cauſe; and the king of Denmark alſo appeared to be equally well diſpoſed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negotiations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king, for this purpoſe, had ſent Boiſiſe, Freſne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the States were very ſoon unanimous in their determinations: the prince of Orange ſent the ſieurs Malderet and Brederode from them, to offer the king fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. They were ſoon followed by the landgrave of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhalt, to whom as well as to the prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increaſed by the duke of Savoy; by all of the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and lower Auſtria; by many proteſtant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiſs Cantons of this religion. And when the ſucceſſion of Cleves, which the Emperor ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to uſurp, became another incen-

incentive to the confederacy, there was then ſcarce any part of Germany that was not for us; which evidently appeared from the reſult of the general aſſembly at Hall. The elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the oppoſite party, might have been embarraſſed in an affair, out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himſelf; and this was to have been done, by ſuggeſting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

THERE were ſeveral of theſe powers, in regard to whom I am perſuaded nothing would have been riſked, by diſcloſing to them the whole intent and ſcope of the deſign. On the contrary, they would probably have ſeconded it with the greater ardour, when they found the deſtruction of the Auſtrian grandeur was a determined point. Theſe powers were more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almoſt all the proteſtants, and eſpecially the evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken, to prevent the catholic powers from being prejudiced againſt the new alliance in which they were to be engaged; a too haſty diſcovery, either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the deſign, was therefore cautiouſly avoided. It was at firſt concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to a few perſons of approved diſcretion, and thoſe only ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary to engage others to join the confederacy. The aſſociation was for a long time ſpoke of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein ſuch methods would be projected, as the public benefit, and the general ſervice of Europe, might ſuggeſt as neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the exceſſive power of the houſe of Auſtria. Our ambaſſadors and agents had orders only to demand of theſe princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to ſucceed in the projected peace; to conſult with them upon the means

means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were ſent only, in conjunction with them, to endeavour the diſcovery of theſe means; but yet to ſecond them, and according to the diſpoſition in which they were, to inſinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, ſome notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to ſecure to each religion a more undiſturbed repoſe than they had hitherto enjoyed. The propoſals made to the kings of England and Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, for alliances by marriage, proved very ſucceſsful: it was abſolutely determined, that the Dauphin ſhould eſpouſe the heireſs of Lorrain, which dutchy ſtill continued, as before, to depend on the Empire.

But no precaution appeared ſo neceſſary, nor was more ſtrongly recommended to our negotiators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the diſintereſtedneſs with which Henry was reſolved to act on this occaſion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the ſuppoſition that it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, we ſtrongly proteſted, that the forces, the treaſures, and even the perſon of Henry, might be depended on; and this in a manner ſo generous on his ſide, that, inſtead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the moſt poſitive aſſurances, not to reſerve to himſelf a ſingle town, nor the ſmalleſt diſtrict. This moderation, of which at laſt no one doubted, made a ſuitable impreſſion, eſpecially when it was perceived to be ſo much the more generous, as there was ſufficient to excite and ſatisfy the deſires of all. And in the interim, before the ſolemn publication of this abſolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifeſtoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an abſolute demonſtration to the pope.

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No one being ignorant that as it was, at leaſt, intended to deprive Spain of thoſe of its uſurpations which were the moſt manifeſtly unjuſt; Navarre and Rouſillon would infallibly revert to France; the king therefore voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the ſame time to make a preſent of both to the Pope and the republic of Venice. This, certainly, was renouncing the moſt inconteſtible right he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by ſubmitting this affair, as he did, to the determination of the Pope and the Venetians, he the more ſenſibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might ariſe therefrom would be in their favour. The Pope, therefore, on the firſt propoſition made to him, even prevented Henry's intentions; he immediately demanded whether, as affairs were then circumſtances, the ſeveral powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to eſtabliſh peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its ſeveral princes, into a perpetual war againſt the infidels; which was a part of the deſign he had been very careful to acquaint him with: and the pope ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was deſirous nothing ſhould be done without his participation; and that he was ſtill leſs diſpoſed to refuſe the advantage offered to him.

Paul V. when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himſelf more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holineſs, for the confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria, would, on various pretences, engage to raiſe ten thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and ten cannons; provided that his majeſty would promiſe to defray the neceſſary expences of their ſubſiſtence for three years; would give all poſſible ſecurity for the ceſſion of Naples, and the other rights of homage, according to promiſe; and would ſincerely conſent to the other conditions, in regard to the

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treaty which he ſhould think neceſſary to impoſe. Theſe conditions, at leaſt the principal of them, were, that only catholics ſhould be elected emperors; that the Roman religion ſhould be maintained in all its rights, and the eccleſiaſtics in all their privileges and immunities; and the proteſtants ſhould not be permitted to eſtabliſh themſelves in places where they were not eſtabliſhed before the treaty. The king promiſed Ubaldini, that he would religiouſly obſerve all theſe conditions; and farther, he relinquiſhed to the pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all thoſe regulations to be made in the eſtabliſhment of the new republic.

THE removing of theſe difficulties in regard to the pope, was of no inconſiderable conſequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determining the other catholic powers, eſpecially thoſe of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable diſpoſitions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their penſions, and even by adding to them ſeveral other gratuities. The eſtabliſhment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence theſe petty courts had for not joining in the confederacy; but this vain apprehenſion would be eaſily diſſipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have ſatisfied them in this reſpect; but if not, all oppoſers might have been threatened with being declared, after a certain time, diveſted of all right to the propoſed advantages, and even of all pretenſions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongſt them ſhould be converted into ſovereignties, and ſovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have demurred what to do. The puniſhment of the firſt offender would have compelled the ſubmiſſion of all theſe petty ſtates, who were beſides ſufficiently ſenſible of their importance. But this method was

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not to be uſed but on failure of all others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of ſhewing them favour.

And now we are arrived at the point to which every thing was advanced, at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumſtantial detail of the forces for the war, which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furniſh: The contingents of the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark, were each eight thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and eight cannons; to be raiſed and maintained, in all reſpects, at their expence, at leaſt for three years; and this expence, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot ſoldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be compoſed of ten months, would amount, for each of theſe ſtates, to three millions three hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres for three years; the expence of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece, being alſo included. The princes of Germany, before mentioned, were to furniſh twenty-five thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and forty cannons: they had themſelves computed the expence at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and ten cannons: the expence twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other evangelics of Germany, the ſame number, and nearly at the ſame expence. The Pope, ten thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and eight cannons. The duke of Savoy, eighteen thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons. The Venetians, twelve thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons. The expence of theſe laſt mentioned armaments the king himſelf had engaged to defray. The total of all theſe foreign forces, allowing for deficiencies, which might probably have happened, would always have been, at leaſt, one

hundred thouſand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thouſand horſe, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

THE king, on his ſide, had actually on foot two good and well furniſhed armies; the firſt, which he was to have commanded in perſon, conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, all native French, eight thouſand Switzers, four thouſand Lanſquenets or Walloons, five thouſand horſe, and twenty cannons. The ſecond, to be commanded by Leſdiguieres, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, conſiſted of ten thouſand foot, one thouſand horſe, and ten cannons; beſides a flying camp, of four thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and ten cannons; and a reſerve of two thouſand foot to garriſon ſuch places where they might be neceſſary *. We will make a general calculation of all theſe troops.

THE twenty thouſand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would, by the month, require four hundred and twenty thouſand livres, and by the year, five millions and forty thouſand livres; the eight thouſand Switzers and four thouſand Lanſquenets, three millions; the five thouſand horſe, at ſixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thouſand livres, and by the year, two millions eight hundred and forty thouſand livres: this computation is made ſo high as ſixty livres a month to each, becauſe the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, compoſed of a thouſand men of the firſt rank in

* There are ſome variations in our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal grand army, which, in different places, is ſaid to be compoſed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty ſix thouſand foot, of four, five, ſix, and eight thouſand horſe, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of Germany, ſometimes computed even at forty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; ſimilar differences do often occur in regard to thoſe of Italy, and the other confederate princes: neither are the calculations of the expences always the ſame, nor quite juſt in their eſtimates.

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the kingdom, who ſerved as volunteers, was therein included. The expence of the twenty large cannons, ſix culverins, and four demi-culverins, ſuppoſing all neceſſary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thouſand ſix hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty together would conſequently require one hundred and eight thouſand livres. Extraordinary expences and loſſes, in regard to the proviſions and ammunition for his army, might be computed at one hundred and fifty thouſand livres.

And for expences, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in ſpies, for ſick and wounded, and other unforeſeen contingencies, computing at the higheſt, a like ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand livres. To ſupply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the penſions, and to anſwer other particular exigences which might ariſe in the kingdom, three hundred thouſand livres a month; for the year, three millions ſix hundred thouſand livres. The army of Leſdiguieres would require three millions a year; and as much for each of the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy. Theſe four laſt articles together, make twelve millions a year; which, added to the preceding ſums, amount in the whole to about thirty millions one hundred and ſixty thouſand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for three years, during which it was ſuppoſed there might be occaſion for the forces, and the whole amount will appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be neceſſary to defray the expences of the intended war; I ſay nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thouſand men for garriſons: the firſt of theſe two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot ſoldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a farther ſum of about one hundred

and thirty thouſand livres a month; which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thouſand livres, and four millions five hundred thouſand livres for three years: the ſecond article for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thouſand livres.

On a ſuppoſition that the expence of France, on this occaſion, would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions; which ſuppoſition is far from being hazardous, becauſe we have here computed every thing at the higheſt it would bear; it is eaſy to ſhew, that at the expiration of three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions over and above what would be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the ſeveral funds, formed and to be formed for theſe three years, being one hundred twenty-one millions five hundred and forty thouſand livres, as appears from the three eſtimates which I drew up and preſented to his majeſty.

The firſt of theſe eſtimates, which contained only a liſt of the ſums actually depoſited in the Baſtile, amounted to twenty-two millions four hundred and ſixty thouſand livres, in ſeveral coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier: the ſecond was another liſt of the ſums actually due from the farmers, partizans, and receivers-general; which might be conſidered as in poſſeſſion, and produced another total of eighteen millions ſix hundred and thirteen thouſand livres; theſe two totals together made forty-one millions ſeventy-three thouſand livres, which the king would immediately have at his diſpoſal: to acquire the reſt of theſe hundred and twenty one millions, I had no recourſe, in the third eſtimate, to any new taxations. The whole remainder would ariſe ſolely from the offers of augmentation upon the ſeveral royal revenues which the farmers and partizans had made for a leaſe of three years, and from what the officers of juſtice and

and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furniſh, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges: ſo that in theſe one hundred twenty-one millions, I had not comprehended the three years receipts of the other royal revenues. And in caſe it were afterwards neceſſary to have recourſe to means ſomewhat more burthenſome, I had given the king another eſtimate, whereby, inſtead of theſe one hundred twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred ſeventy-five millions might have been raiſed. I alſo demonſtrated, that, upon any preſſing emergency, this kingdom could open itſelf reſources of treaſure that are almoſt innumerable.

It was very much to be wiſhed, that the ſums of money and the number of men to be furniſhed by the other confederates, would be equally well ſecured by ſuch eſtimates: but whatever deficiencies might have happened, having forty-one millions to diſtribute where-ever it might be found neceſſary, what obſtacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be deſtitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant, that the beſt and moſt numerous forces which Spain had in its ſervice were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy; or elſe were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

Every thing therefore concurring to promote ſucceſs, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the paſſage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mezieres; from whence, taking his route by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beauraing, Offais, Longpré, &c. after having cauſed five forts to be erected in theſe quarters, and therein placed his two thouſand men deſtined for that purpoſe, with the neceſſary proviſions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies, which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have cauſed to march thither; and then beginning by

occupying all thoſe paſſages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, theſe principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would conſequently have immediately ſubmitted to him, and would have been ſequeſtrated, till it ſhould appear how the Emperor and the king of Spain would act, in regard to the deſigns of the confederate princes.

THIS was the moment fixed on to publiſh and make known throughout Europe, the declarations, in form of manifeſtos, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true intereſts, and the real motives which had cauſed Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. Theſe manifeſtos were compoſed with the greateſt care; a ſpirit of juſtice, honeſty, and good faith, of diſintereſtedneſs and good policy, were every where apparent in them: and without wholly diſcovering the ſeveral changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated, that their common intereſt had thus compelled its princes to arm themſelves; and not only to prevent the houſe of Auſtria from getting poſſeſſion of Cleves, but alſo to diveſt her of the United Provinces, and of whatever elſe ſhe unjuſtly poſſeſſed; that their intentions were to diſtribute theſe territories among ſuch princes and ſtates as were the weakeſt; that the deſign was ſuch, as could not ſurely give occaſion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather choſe to be mediators in the cauſes of complaint which Europe, through them, made againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and only ſought amicably to determine all differences ſubſiſting among the ſeveral princes; and that whatever was done on this occaſion ſhould be not only, with the unanimous conſent of all theſe powers, but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: ſuch alſo would have

have been the ſubſtance of the circular letters which Henry and the aſſociated princes would at the ſame time have ſent to all places ſubject to them; that ſo the people being informed, and joining their ſuffrages, an univerſal cry from all parts of Chriſtendom would have been raiſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

As it was determined to avoid, with the utmoſt caution, whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being deſirous to give ſtill more convincing proofs to his confederates, that to promote their true intereſts was his ſole ſtudy and deſign; to theſe letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologne and Treves, the biſhops of Munſter, Liege, and Paderborn; and the duke and ducheſs of Lorrain; and this conduct would have been purſued, in regard even to our enemies, in the letters which were to be written to the arch-duke, and the infanta his wife, to the Emperor himſelf, and to all the Auſtrian princes, requeſting them, from the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing motives, to embrace the only right and reaſonable party; in all places, nothing would have been neglected, to inſtruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the diſtribution or ſequeſtration of whatever territories might require to be ſo diſpoſed would have been ſtrictly, and even ſcrupulouſly, obſerved; force would never have been employed, till arguments, intreaties, embaſſies, and negotiations, ſhould have failed; finally, even in the uſe of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by ſuch pomp and equipage as were ſuitable only to peace.

HENRY had projected a new method of diſcipline in his camp, which very probably would have produced the good effects intended by it, eſpecially if his ex-

ample had been imitated by the other princes his allies; he intended to have created four marſhals of France, or at leaſt four camp marſhals, whoſe ſole care ſhould have been to maintain univerſal order, diſcipline, and ſubordination: the firſt of theſe would have had the inſpection of the cavalry, the ſecond of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and proviſions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from theſe two officers, of whatever was tranſacted by them in their reſpective diviſions. He applied himſelf with equal ardour to make all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of truſt to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding good ſoldiers, by puniſhing blaſphemies and other impious language, by ſhewing a regard both for his own troops and thoſe of his confederates, by ſtifling a ſpirit of diſcord, cauſed by a difference of religions; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of ſentiments which contributes more than all the reſt to obtain victory.

THE conſequence of this enterpriſe, with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the Emperor and the king of Spain would receive the propoſitions, and reply to the manifeſto's of the confederate princes; it ſeems probable that the emperor, ſubmitting to force, would have conſented to every thing: I am even perſuaded he would have been the firſt to demand an amicable interview with the king of France, that he might at leaſt extricate himſelf with honour out of the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been ſatisfied with aſſurances, that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and prerogatives, ſhould be ſecured to him for his life. The arch-dukes had made great advances; they engaged to permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories

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and towns, provided they committed no hoſtilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required: if theſe appearances were not deceitful, Spain being abandoned by all, muſt, though unwillingly, have ſubmitted to the will of its conquerors.

But it may be ſuppoſed, that all the branches of the houſe of Auſtria would, on this occaſion, have united, and, in defence of their common intereſts, would have uſed all the efforts of which they were capable. In this caſe, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form againſt their enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, eſpecially with the Low-Countries: and having, as we have ſaid, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promiſed aſſiſtance to the people of Hungary and Bohemia who ſhould come to implore it of them; and finally, ſecured the territory of Cleves: theſe princes, I ſay, would then have cauſed their three armies to advance towards Bale and Straſbourg to ſupport the Switzers, who after having, for form's ſake, aſked leave of the emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a conſiderable diſtance from theſe armies, would yet have been ſufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have cauſed to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whoſe protection they would be entruſted; by the care which at firſt would have been taken to get poſſeſſion of Charlemont, Maeſtricht, Namur, and other places near the Meuſe; and finally, by the naval forces of theſe provinces, which, in conjunction with thoſe of England, would have reigned abſolute maſters at ſea.

These meaſures being taken, the war could have fallen only in Italy or Germany; and ſuppoſing it to have happened in the former, the three armies of Henry, the prince of Orange, and the princes of

Germany, quitting Franche-Compté, after having fortified it in the ſame manner as the Low-Countries, by a ſmall body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by thoſe of Leſdiguieres, the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; who then would have declared themſelves openly; the duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his ducheſs, equal to what had been given to the infanta Iſabella; and the other powers, by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily: and thus, from all parts of Europe, war would be declared againſt Spain. If the enemy ſhould appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a conſiderable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where, from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been ſtrengthened by thoſe powerful ſuccours which were there preparing.

THE other events, in conſequence of theſe diſpoſitions, can only be conjectured, becauſe they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy ſhould oppoſe the rapidity of our conqueſts, and on the readineſs with which the confederates, eſpecially thoſe at the extremity of Germany, ſhould make good their engagements. Nevertheleſs, I am perſuaded, that from the diſpoſitions as here laid down, there are none but muſt regard the houſe of Auſtria as penetrated by the blow whoſe force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a paſſage to the execution of the other projected deſigns, to which this attack could only be conſidered as the preliminary: I will add too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality) that if the force neceſſary to render ſuch an enterprize ſucceſsful does always depend on the perſon of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred, than upon

Henry

Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of ſurmounting the greateſt difficulties; and preſence of mind, which neither neglected nor loſt any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which, without precipitating any thing, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly connect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the reſult of time; with a conſummate experience; and finally, with all thoſe other great qualifications, whether as a warrior or politician, which were ſo remarkable in this prince; what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modeſt device which this great king cauſed to be inſcribed on ſome of the laſt medals that were ſtruck under his reign, *Nil ſine conſilio.*

SUPPLEMENT

TO

The LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY,

After his RETREAT.

THE firſt time we find the duke of Sully mentioned by the hiſtorians after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the aſſembly of proteſtants, held at Châtelleraut, in the year 1611. His mind was ſtill embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real intereſt and character, was preparing to go thither to ſupport the queen's rights againſt the proteſtants, had put himſelf at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance, which the queen regent had promiſed to beſtow upon him, in reward for the ſervices ſhe expected from him upon this occaſion; it is not therefore ſurpriſing that, in ſuch a conjuncture, the duke of Sully ſhould act there with vigour and ſpirit. Thoſe who favour the duke of Bouillon have, thro' reſentment that he failed in his attempt, accuſed the dukes of Sully and Rohan of ſeeking to rekindle the war between the proteſtants and the catholics; but they are the only perſons who ſpeak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with ſo much heat and malignity

againſt him, that the author of the French Mercury *, whom I ſhall follow in this period of the duke of Sully's hiſtory, condemns him for not taking the only meaſures that remained to ſecure his repoſe. Here follows a ſhort account of what paſſed, with regard to the duke of Sully, at the aſſembly of Châtelleraut, or of Saumur; for his enemies, being apprehenſive that he would be too powerful if it was held at Châtelleraut, cauſed it to be transferred to Saumur.

THE duke of Bouillon making no ſecret of his intentions to reduce the Calviniſts his brethren, and the duke of Sully in particular, to the laſt extremity, the common intereſt re-united the latter with Du-Pleſſis-Mornay and the principal proteſtant miniſters, who, till then, as has been ſeen through the courſe of theſe Memoirs, had acted with great reſerve towards him, and great diſtruſt of his ſentiments. They began by refuſing the dignity of preſident of their aſſembly to the duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on Du-Pleſſis; and made him ſenſible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually oppoſing him; ſo that he could not obtain any of thoſe demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen regent committed a great error when ſhe made choice of the duke of Bouillon to ſerve her on this occaſion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the duke of Sully, through the interpoſition of Du-Pleſſis; and from that time the duke found no more obſtacles to hinder him from intereſting the proteſtant body in his particular cauſe, which became one of the chief ſubjects of their deliberations.

THE aſſembly addreſſed him, entreated, and enjoined him, (theſe are the terms made uſe of by the French Mercury) not to reſign his employments,

* Anno 1611. p. 75.

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promiſed to ſupport him, &c. To which the duke of Sully anſwered by a ſpeech, in which he aſked the advice of the aſſembly upon four things. 1ſt, If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of his enemies with reſpect to him? 2d, If, on the contrary, he ought himſelf to make a demand of being again reſtored to his places? 3d, If it was more eligible to accept of a recompence for them? and laſtly, If this recompence ought to be honour and ſecurity rather than profit? For it was to conceal the deſign they had of ruining him entirely, that the court made a propoſal to him to receive a marſhal's ſtaff, or a conſiderable ſum of money in exchange for his poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance, and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this diſcourſe, in which he could not forbear mingling ſome complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen regent uſed towards him, with excuſing himſelf for not having ſooner laid before them the hardſhips he ſuffered on account of the great difficulty he found to perſuade himſelf that there were really ſuch plots formed againſt him, as well as of his fears of diſpleaſing ſome perſons to whom he owed all imaginable reſpect.

THIS diſcourſe was as agreeable to the proteſtants, as it was diſpleaſing to Bouillon and the reſt of the queen's agents. In their anſwer they gave indeed very high praiſes to the duke of Sully's adminiſtration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a deſign to force the queen to reſtore him to his place in the miniſtry. M. de Sully anſwered this accuſation by another remonſtrance, in which he referred his intereſts to the aſſembly. The duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the maſque a ſecond time, and began to cabal with all the proteſtants whom he thought there was a poſſibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over ſome; but all his endeavours to gain the duke of Rohan were fruitleſs: and having

having neither been able, with all his addreſs, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adverſary, or to ſuſpend the concluſion, they paſſed on to their deliberations, the reſult of which was, that they would aſſiſt M. de Sully, if his adminiſtration was enquired into, *by unlawful ways.*

Bouillon, and the reſt of the queen's creatures, put every thing in motion to obtain a recantation or reſtriction. As for the duke of Bouillon, he broke out in a rage and exclamation: he gave the moſt violent counſels to the queen, who contented herſelf, however, with ſending letters in the king's name to the aſſembly, which Du-Pleſſis, for fear of the conſequences they might produce, thought proper to ſuppreſs. They now had recourſe to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably ſettled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was ſuffered to reſt, becauſe it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any ſhadow of juſtice, accuſe him of being an unfaithful miniſter, much leſs an enemy to the ſtate; and becauſe the duke of Bouillon, being diſguſted with the queen for diſappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceaſed on a ſudden to act with the ſame heat and animoſity. The duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the ſame ſituation as when he retired from court.

The following year the war between the two religions was upon the point of being reſumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs ſeem to prepare us. Braſſac, whom his majeſty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. John D'Angely, after the death of Des-Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the duke of Rohan, whoſe whole conduct, from that time, ſufficiently declared that his ſentiments were very different from thoſe of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the proteſtants were greatly in fear of

of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully ſigned the agreement, which was made in the ſynod of Privas, between the duke of Rohan on one ſide, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the ſhare he had in this great rupture.

THE two following letters, which I have tranſcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourſe to Maximilian on many occaſions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appeaſe the troubles which afterwards aroſe between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

A Letter from the Queen-mother to the Duke of SULLY.

"COUSIN,

"I HAVE ſent the ſieur de Bethune your brother "to confer with you concerning the preſent occur- "rences, and have charged him to aſſure you of my "affection, and of my reliance on the continuance "of yours, for the ſervice of the king, monſieur "my ſon. You may give abſolute credit to what "he ſhall ſay to you on both theſe ſubjects, as you "would to the perſon of your good couſin,

Paris, Feb. 12, 1614. "MARY."

IT is ſuperſcribed, "To my Couſin, the Duke of "Sully, peer, and grand maſter of the ordnance of "France."

Another Letter from the Queen to M. de SULLY.

"COUSIN,

"HAVING received your letter of the 1ſt inſtant "on the 9th, I delayed anſwering it till my arrival "in this province, to the end that, being better in- "formed of the particular things which happened, "and the ſtate affairs are in at preſent, I might tell

"you

" you with more certainty, my opinion of them all " in general: but I have found here ſo much con- " fuſion and tumult, ſo many complaints and in- " fringements of the agreement of St. Menoult, " that I confeſs I know not where to begin, or " what to deſire you to do for me on this occaſion. " Declarations are every where made, and aſſurances " given me of zeal and fidelity for the ſervice of " the king my ſon, and the public good, which are " indeed very acceptable; but I find effects ſo con- " trary to all this, that I no ſooner entertain any " favourable hopes, than they vaniſh in an inſtant. " I do not write this upon your own particular ac- " count; for I depend upon your affection to the " good of your country and our own happineſs, in " proportion to the experience I have had of it, and " the aſſurance you have given me; but I write to " condole with you upon the changeableneſs and " uncertainty of ſuch proceedings. I have with- " in theſe two days received your laſt letter here; " the bearer of this will tell you what I think of " it.

" I do not doubt but that you have, with a free- " dom and zeal becoming a good ſubject and an ho- " neſt man, made thoſe remonſtrances to my nephew " the prince of Condé, which you have given me an " account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced to " hear that he has taken them well of you: but, if " he approves of your advice, what hinders him " from following it? By ſo doing he will get rid " of thoſe perplexities in which you tell me he " is involved; he will receive of me every reaſon- " able proof he can deſire of my good-will, and all " the reſpect and deference due to his quality. If to " aſſure him of this, any thing depends upon me, I " ſhall be glad to know it, and to have your opi- " nion: but I have not yet received thoſe letters, " which he told you he wrote to me upon that ſub- " ject. I wiſh they may be ſuch as may give me

" that

" that ſatisfaction, both with reſpect to him and " his friend, for the ſervice of the king my ſon, as " he has often made me hope for, and even re- " queſt; and, this done, I ſhall make him ſuch re- " turns as he ſhall have juſt reaſon to be contented " with: as likewiſe all thoſe who ſhall follow his " example.

" I HAVE not yet ſeen the duke of Vendôme; " ſo that I know not what I ought to hope from his " obedience; for I have advice that he continues " to fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great num- " ber of ſoldiers, who have ſerved, or rather diſ- " ſerved him during theſe laſt commotions, and eſ- " pecially ſince the contract of St. Menoult, to " which the king my ſon and myſelf are endeavour- " ing to apply the neceſſary remedies, by the ad- " vice of the ſtates of the country, which we are to " propoſe to-morrow. As I promiſe myſelf that " you will always continue faithful to the intereſts " of the king my ſon, and that you will readily em- " brace every opportunity of ſerving him, you may " make what uſe you think proper of this for that " purpoſe; and I beſeech God, couſin, &c. Writ- " ten at Nantz, Auguſt 18, 1614.

" Your good couſin,

" MARY."

IN the year 1616 the revolt of the proteſtants broke out. On this occaſion the duke of Sully gave a convincing proof that he preferred the welfare of the ſtate to the intereſt of his party, and even to his own particular intereſt; for, when it was propoſed to him to re-unite the party of the prince of Condé with that of the proteſtant, a deſign which, according to all appearance, would have ruined the kingdom, the duke of Sully, whoſe ſuffrage was of the utmoſt conſequence, refuſed abſolutely to give it, and remained conſtantly attached to the king. Let us ſee what marſhal Baſſompierre ſays on this ſubject

ſubject in his Memoirs. "M. de Sully, ever ſolicitous for the good of the ſtate, maintained himſelf in the eſteem and reſpect of both parties, and endeavoured to ſet them right, as long as they could ſubſiſt in the ſtate they were, by ſending information ſometimes to the queen-mother, and ſometimes to the prince; and, on Auguſt the 26th, the duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to ſuch extremity, that it was not poſſible they could continue eight days longer in the ſame ſituation; that as the ballance was now held, the whole authority muſt neceſſarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was ſtill in her own choice whether to keep or ſuffer herſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of her's. He declared that ſhe was not ſecure in Paris, and that ſhe and her children would be ſafer in the field, with a thouſand horſe, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He ſaid, that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceaſed king, required that he ſhould make her theſe remonſtrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the preſent evils but the loſs of his life, he would ſacrifice it willingly for the preſervation of the king, herſelf, and the ſtate; then, taking leave of her, he implored her to conſider well what he had ſaid: and added, that, if ſhe did not apply the only fit and reaſonable remedy to theſe commotions, ſhe would be anſwerable for all the conſequences of them, ſince ſhe had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen."

The author of the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son * renders, in ſpite of himſelf, this juſtice to the duke of Sully. "M. de Sully, ſays he, demanded an audience of the queen, that he might confer with her upon an affair, which he ſaid was of no leſs importance than the preſervation of the king's life and her's. The queen had taken phy-

* Tom. II. p. 61, 62.

ſic,

" ſic that day; but, upon a matter of ſuch conſe-
" quence, ſhe thought ſhe could not diſpenſe with
" herſelf from ſeeing him. The king happened, by
" chance, to be preſent; as were likewiſe the ſieurs
" Mangot and Barbin. The duke of Sully then
" made a ſpeech, in which he expatiated upon the
" bad deſigns of the princes, and the inevitable
" dangers which he foreſaw for the king. The
" ſieurs Mangot and Barbin told him, that it was
" not enough to diſcover an evil; he ought like-
" wiſe to propoſe ſome proper remedies to obviate it.
" To this he only added, that the attempt was
" hazardous, and that they muſt expect to ſee very
" fatal conſequences; then, quitting the queen's
" cloſet, he ſaid, Sire, and you, madam, I entreat
" your majeſties to think well on what I have ſaid:
" I have diſcharged my conſcience; would to God
" you were in the midſt of twelve hundred horſe:
" I ſee no other remedy." Saying this he went away.

IT muſt be confeſſed, that to the hatred which this writer bore the duke of Sully, is owing the following recital †: " The prince of Condé being
" arreſted, the miniſters told the queen, that, unleſs
" ſhe releaſed him, all was loſt. M. de Sully,
" whoſe vehemence of temper would not allow him
" time for reflection, nor to give his advice in the
" preſent exigence on what might be apprehended
" for the future, without blaming paſt proceedings,
" ſaid, that whoever had counſelled the queen to
" arreſt the prince, had ruined the ſtate. The queen
" replied, that ſhe was aſtoniſhed to hear him ſpeak
" in that manner; and that he muſt certainly have
" loſt his reaſon, ſince he did not remember what
" he himſelf had ſaid to the king and her but three
" days before. Theſe words threw him into ſuch
" confuſion that he withdrew immediately, to the
" great aſtoniſhment of all the lords who were pre-

† Tom. II. p. 94.

" ſent.

" ſent. His wife endeavoured afterwards to excuſe " him, by alledging that it was the terrors he la- " boured under at that time which had forced him " to ſpeak ſo, having been informed that the princes " and nobles of the prince of Condé's party had re- " ſolved to murder him, through a ſuſpicion that he " was the cauſe of the prince's detention, by the " diſcoveries he had made of their deſign."

WITHOUT examining here whether the duke of Sully contradicted himſelf in the advice he gave the queen at theſe two different times, we ſhall grant that the reſolution they had taken to arreſt the prince of Condé, was both prudent and neceſſary; and the inference I ſhall draw from theſe circumſtances is, that the miniſter never ſwerved from his attachment to the intereſt of the king and the public good, on any occaſion ſo favourable to the proteſtant party, where he himſelf ran great riſks.

HE obſerved the ſame conduct during the reſt of his life. He was inveſted with the king's authority in the aſſemblies of Rouen and Loudun: he ſupported, like a good citizen and a loyal ſubject, his majeſty's party againſt the proteſtants, when the war was declared under the adminiſtration of cardinal Richelieu: he was preſent at the ſiege of Montauban and other encounters: he even performed all the functions of grand-maſter of the ordnance at the ſiege of St. Jean D'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furniſhed and conducted with the greateſt care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the duke of Bouillon's life ſays that it was taken from him. Lewis XIII. gave him a marſhal's ſtaff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully ſent an anſwer by his grand-ſon the prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a ſecond brief from the pope, in Latin likewiſe, dated July 16, 1633.

IN the ſame year he loſt the marquis de Roſny, his

his eldeſt ſon, whoſe conduct had been a continula ſource of affliction to him, not only becauſe the marquis followed none of the wiſe counſels he gave him, and joined himſelf to the enemies of the ſtate, but becauſe the duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme diſorder of his ſon's affairs. And here it is neceſſary we ſhould give ſome account of the duke of Sully's domeſtic concerns, which will ſerve to explain ſeveral parts of theſe Memoirs where the marquis of Roſny is mentioned, and particularly what is ſaid of him in the twenty-ninth book.

THE duke of Sully, beſides two daughters, the eldeſt of whom was married to the duke of Rohan, and the youngeſt to the marquis of Mirepoix, had three ſons; Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Roſny, he had by his firſt wife Anne de Courtenay; and Cæſar and Francis de Bethune, by his ſecond, Rachel de Cochefilet. The great eſtates he was poſſeſſed of being acquired ſince his ſecond marriage, the children by that marriage ſeemed intitled to the largeſt ſhare of them; nevertheleſs, the duke of Sully thinking himſelf obliged to ſecure to the marquis de Roſny ſuch an eſtate as might enable him to ſupport the grandeur of his houſe, of which he was the eldeſt, to the poſts of grand-maſter of the ordnance, ſuperintendant of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mante and Gergeau, the reverſion of which he obtained for him, and which he eſtimated at ſixty thouſand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands producing a yearly revenue of fifty thouſand livres, conſiſting of the duchy of Sully, the marquiſate of Roſny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reſerved to himſelf during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 17, 1609, has in it this ſingular clauſe: "That on the ſuppoſition "that none of thoſe, whether male or female, choſe "to fulfil the aforeſaid terms and conditions, the

"ſaid

" ſaid lord, who makes this ſettlement, gives, by the " preſent writing, the aboveſaid lands to the king " or his deſcendants, according to their ſeniority, " on condition that the ſaid lands ſhould never be " diſunited from the crown; and that he who " ſhould poſſeſs them, if he be not the king or the " king's eldeſt ſon, ſhall be obliged, and his deſcen- " dants after him, together with his own name and " arms, to bear the ſirname and arms of Bethune."

But afterwards being ſolicitous to prevent any occaſion for diſunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other poſſeſſions in the ſame form, and by an act of the ſame kind, in favour of Cæſar and Francis de Bethune his youngeſt ſons: namely, of the land and lordſhip of Villebon to Cæſar; and to Francis de Bethune, called the count of Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyeres, Epineuil, Beaucheſal, La-Roche-Guillebaut, and Le-Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of theſe donations is eſtimated at ten thouſand livres a year. It is there ſtipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition and furniture, as well thoſe which were in all theſe caſtles when the donation was made, as thoſe which ſhould be found there at the death of the duke of Sully, ſhould be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two ſons, to whom they were made over, ſhould die without heirs, his portion was to go intire to the ſurvivor. This happened four years after; for, Cæſar de Bethune dying unmarried in 1614, the count of Orval re-united in himſelf the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jaqueline de Caumont, daughter to the grand-marſhal de La Force, and grand-daughter of the firſt marſhal Biron; and he confirmed, by the marriage contract, the act of entail, made in the year 1610.

Before and after the duke of Sully had made theſe diſpoſitions of his eſtates, the marquis of Roſny con-

continued to hold his poſſeſſions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the ſon, his mother's eſtate alone being not ſufficient to ſupply his expences: but it expoſed the duke of Sully to the proſecution of his ſon's creditors. The duke paid his debts ſeveral times; but they became ſo conſiderable, by the prodigality and bad management of the marquis of Roſny, that he took a reſolution, at length, to leave him to himſelf. Such was the beginning of his domeſtic troubles.

THIS was ſoon followed by others more conſiderable; for after the death of the marquis of Roſny, his creditors, taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to ſeize upon ſome of the poſſeſſions of the duke of Sully. The prince of Henrichemont *, his grand-ſon, joined with them to annul theſe conveyances, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the circumſtances the duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himſelf clear of the prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many eſtabliſhments, and had gained, and ſold, and gained again, at ſeveral times, a great part of the lands contained in thoſe conveyances; ſuch as Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the duke of Sully in continual perplexity with diſputes and law-ſuits, part of which, however, were amicably ſettled by the marriage of the prince Henrichemont with the daughter of the chancellor Seguier†, in the year 1639; upon which the duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the prince of Condé, having Villebon reſtored, and all his other acquiſitions ſecured to him, made over again, in the year 1640 a new conveyance, confirming the former, by

* Maximilian Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, duke of Sully, prince of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, marquis of Roſny, lieutenant-general for the government of Dauphiny and the Païs-Vexin, governor of Mante and Meulan: he died in 1661.

† Charlotte Seguier, daughter of the chancellor Seguier.

which

which he gave other lands, in the place of thoſe that might be alienated.

THE diſcontent of the prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and ſet on foot a law-ſuit, of which Lewis XIII. and his firſt miniſter took the cognizance to themſelves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641; the petitions and principal pieces of this ſuit have been printed: the duke of Sully complains there bitterly, that his grandſon and the chancellor Seguier, who ſupported him, ſought to take advantage of ſome failures in the formalities of the ſettlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs ſo long and ſo complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a diſcuſſion of this point of the law. Suppoſing that all poſſible right was not on the ſide of the duke of Sully, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the voice of nature, and a principle of gratitude, ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raiſed his family to ſuch a degree of ſplendor: however that may be, the duke of Sully had the mortification to find himſelf, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of thoſe eſtates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind, that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this ſtroke affected him ſo ſenſibly, that it contributed to ſhorten his life: he died eight days afterwards at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

HIS bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and depoſited in the vault of the collegiate church of Saint-Anne in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inſcription:

Here lie the bowels of the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious lord, Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, peer and marſhal of France.

His body was carried to Aumône, or Hotel Dieu of Nogent, but the mauſoleum which was erecting for him there, not being finiſhed, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the duke of Sully's chamber in the caſtle of Villebon, where he died. The cielings, the floors, and walls of this apartment, were hung with black cloth: it was left there expoſed to view, under a canopy of black velvet, with bands of ſilver ſtuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

In the mean time, the ducheſs of Sully cauſed a cloſet to be built in the lower gallery of the caſtle of Villebon, in order to place a ſtatue in it, which ſhe deſigned to erect to the memory of her huſband; and for this purpoſe ſhe bought a block of white marble, the fineſt that could be procured, and ſent for one of the moſt excellent ſculptures of that time from Italy. In the front of this cloſet is written, in large characters, the ten commandments, as they ſtand in the book of Exodus; on one of the ſides, the epitaph of the deceaſed; upon the other, his coat of arms, with all the enſigns of his office; the top, and all the reſt of the cloſet, is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottos, which it is not neceſſary to deſcribe here: it is enlightened by a long window, which takes up the farther end. The ſtatue is placed in the midſt of the cloſet, ſtanding upon a pedeſtal of white marble likewiſe; it is a little larger than the life, and repreſents the duke of Sully, armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of laurel upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his ſhoulders; in his right hand, ſtretched out, he holds the marſhal's ſtaff; and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms: the marſhal's ſtaff, as well as his caſque, adorned with a plume of feathers, which lies at the left ſide of the ſtatue, are cut out of the ſame block. This whole piece is ſo beautiful and ſo highly finiſhed, that it may vie with the antient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the cloſet is written, in cartouche: *Rachel*

Rachel de Cochefilet, Ducheſs Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, her husband, with whom ſhe lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in teſtimony of her grief for his loſs, has erected this ſtatue, in the year 1642.

THE body of this lady being, after her death, depoſited by that of her huſband, the mauſoleum, which we are going to deſcribe, was common to them both: it is a round chapel, built on the ſide of that of Saint James de l'Aumône, or the Hoſpital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent le Bethune; it has no communication with the church, becauſe the duke and ducheſs of Sully were ſo unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended reformed religion. Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inſide of this chapel are adorned with the coats of arms and alliances of the houſe of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, ſprinkled with flowers de luce: the effigies of the duke and ducheſs are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedeſtal, three feet in height, with their faces turned towards the eaſt: by an inſcription upon the pedeſtal we are told, that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the ſtatue of the duke of Sully, is this inſcription:

Here lies the body of the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious, lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Roſny, who ſhared in all the fortunes of king Henry the Great, among which was that memorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where by his valour, he gained the white ſtandard, and took ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and diſtinguiſhed merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marſhal of France, with the governments

of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Grand Maſter of the Ordnance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the caſtle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortreſſes of Savoy; he was likewiſe made Superintendant of the Finances, which office he diſcharged ſingly with a wiſe and prudent œconomy, and continued his faithful ſervices till that unfortunate day when the Cæſar of the French nation loſt his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that great King, he retired from publick affairs, and paſſed the remainder of his life in eaſe and tranquility. He died at the caſtle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, *aged eighty-two years.—Here alſo lies the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious lady, Madame Rachel de Cochefilet, his wife, who died at Paris in the ninety-ſeventh year of her age, in the year* 1659.

THE way to the chapel is through a long court, planted with a walk of elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the houſe of Bethune in raiſed work, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the duke of Sully. The houſe of Bethune bears *d'argent, faeé de gueules*, ſupported by two ſavages armed with clubs.

BEFORE Villebon was reſtored to the duke of Sully, he divided his reſidence between Sully, La Chapelle-d'Angillon, which is a very fine houſe and barony dependent on the duchy of Sully, and Roſny, which, of all his houſes, he moſt embelliſhed, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family: he was building the wings when he had the misfortune to loſe the king, his benefactor; and as a witneſs of his grief for that loſs, he left thoſe wings imperfect, and in the ſame condition they were in at the time of that ſad event. But when he became again poſſeſſed of Villebon, the beauty of that caſtle, its ſituation in a moſt agreeable country, its contiguity

tiguity to Paris, for Villebon is not more than twenty leagues diſtant from that city, and the advantage of being in the center of ſeveral great eſtates which he had purchaſed with the money ariſing from the ſale of thoſe he had been obliged to part with to the prince of Condé; all theſe conſiderations determined him to fix his ſtay there during ſix whole months of the year, which were the autumn and the winter: he uſed in the ſpring, to make ſome ſhort journies to Sully; but that place was become very diſagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldeſt ſon: the reſt of the year he paſſed at La Chapelle-d'Angillon, at Roſny, and his other eſtates.

THE life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majeſty; ſuch as might be expected from a character ſo grave and ſo full of dignity as his. Beſides a great many gentlemen and pages, by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the perſon of the ducheſs of Sully, he had one company of guards, with their officers, and another of Swiſs; and ſo great a number of domeſtics, that there are but few examples of ſubjects who have kept ſo grand and ſo numerous an houſhold. Monſieur the preſent duke of Sully, has converſed with the ſon of an ancient ſurgeon belonging to his anceſtor the duke of Sully, the laſt of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the duke of Sully, of whom we are ſpeaking, died: this man told him, that he had accompanied his father in his viſits to the ſick in the caſtle of Villebon; and had reckoned fourſcore of them, without perceiving that the ſervice of the houſe ſuffered the leaſt diſorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his cuſtom of riſing very early in the morning; after ſome time ſpent in prayers and reading, he ſet himſelf to work with his four ſecretaries: this work conſiſted in putting his

papers in order, in digeſting his Memoirs, in anſwering the ſeveral letters he received, in regulating his domeſtic affairs, and, laſtly, in taking cognizance of thoſe which related either to his governments or his poſts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, grand maſter of the ordnance, grand ſurveyor of France, and ſuperintendant of the fortifications. He uſually paſſed the whole morning in theſe occupations; except that he ſometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rung a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out; the greateſt part of his houſhold ranged themſelves on each ſide, from the bottom of the ſtair-caſe to the door of his apartment; his equerries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swiſs with their halberts; the duke came next, with ſome of his friends and relations on each ſide of him, with whom he converſed; then followed the officers of his French and Swiſs guards; and the proceſſion was always cloſed by four Swiſs.

At his return, he went into the hall, where he dined: this was a very large room, in which he had cauſed the moſt memorable actions of his own life, together with thoſe of Henry the Great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two armed chairs were placed for the duke and ducheſs; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only ſtools; for at that time, the ſubordination between parents and their children was ſo great, that they were not permitted to ſit in their preſence, without being commanded to do ſo. His table was ſerved with taſte and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighbourhood, ſome of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the ducheſs of Sully: except his gueſts, all the company retired as ſoon as the deſert was brought in.

After

After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining to the hall where they dined: this was called the cabinet of illuſtrious men, becauſe it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated perſons, from whom he had received them; many of theſe portraits are ſtill to be ſeen at Villebon.

In another adjoining hall magnificently furniſhed, the captain of his guards had a ſecond table, ſerved with almoſt as much grandeur as the firſt; here ſat the younger ſort, and indeed thoſe only whom, on account of the diſproportion of age, he choſe not to receive at his own table. The preſent duke of Sully has been told by ſeveral perſons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the viſits they made to his anceſtor, he kept only them at his own table, ſaying to the young men, *You are not old enough to eat with us, we ſhould grow weary of one another.*

When he had ſtaid ſome time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himſelf in the ſame manner as in the morning. If the ſeaſon and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the ſame train as before: he often went into his gardens, and paſſing through a little covered alley, which ſeparated the flower from the kitchen garden, aſcended by a ſtone ſtair-caſe (which the preſent duke of Sully has cauſed to be deſtroyed) into a large walk of linden trees, upon a terrace on the other ſide of the garden. It was then the taſte to have a great number of narrow walks, very cloſely ſhaded with four or five rows of trees or paliſadoes: here he uſed to ſit upon a ſettee painted green, and large enough to hold two perſons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has been lately taken away likewiſe, amuſed himſelf with beholding, on the one ſide, an agreeable landſcape; and on the other, a ſecond alley,

on a terrace, extremely beautiful which ſurrounded a large piece of water, called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees, called the Great Park. In this park alſo he uſed ſometimes to walk, and often was drove about it in his chariot or coach, with the ducheſs his wife. The interval between theſe airings and ſupper, he ſpent in the ſame occupations as the morning: at ſupper, the ſame form was obſerved as at dinner: after which, every one retired to their reſpective apartments.

THE duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order: he therefore made one for himſelf. In the inventory of his effects there were ſeveral diamond rings for that uſe. He wore about his neck, and more eſpecially after the death of Henry IV. a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relievo the figure of that great prince. He uſed often to take this medal out of his boſom, ſtop, and contemplate it, and then kiſs it with the utmoſt reverence and affection: he never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his ancient dreſs, which he always preſerved, for he would not ſubject himſelf to the change of faſhions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court in conſequence of a meſſage from Lewis XIII. "Monſieur de Sully, ſaid the young "prince to him, I ſent for you as being one of "the chief miniſters of the king my father, and "a man in whom he placed great confidence, to "aſk your advice, and to confer with you upon ſome "affairs of importance." The duke of Sully ſeeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the conſtable de Luines, ridiculed his dreſs and the gravity of his manners, made this anſwer: "Sire, I am too old to change my "habits but for ſome good cauſe. When the late "king your father, of glorious memory, did me the "honour to ſend for me to confer with me upon "mat-

" matters of importance, the firſt thing he did was " to ſend away the buffoons." The young king ſeemed not to diſapprove of this freedom: he ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully.

THE moſt exact order, ſubordination, and peace, reigned throughout his numerous houſhold: no perſon knew better how to make himſelf be ſerved, reſpected, and obeyed, than the duke of Sully. The catholics in his ſervice ſaw no difference between his treatment of them and his proteſtant domeſtics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good roman catholics. This was one effect of that eſteem, and even inclination, which, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, he has always ſhewn for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the conſiderations he there mentions. The misfortune was, that, being perſuaded he could work out his ſalvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not ſuffer him to have the appearance of being ſwayed either by ambition or intereſt, in taking a reſolution which would have gratified bōth in ſo high a degree. All his children, except the ducheſs of Rohan, died in the boſom of the roman church.

THE ducheſs his wife, although brought up in the principles of the roman catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers her firſt huſband, to marry the duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that pariſh, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the ſide next the caſtle, which they cauſed to be demoliſhed, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was ſo incloſed, that thoſe who were within could not be ſeen by the congregation; and the one above, to which the aſcent is by a little ſtair-caſe of wood, is alſo obſcured by a grate. It is publickly known,

that the two ducheſſes of Sully and Rohan, came often into the lower gallery to hear the pſalms during the canonical hours. They waſhed with their own hands all the linen that was uſed in the ſervice of the altar. The preſent duke of Sully heard this circumſtance from Catherine de La-Porte, one of his anceſtors. This lady, who lived a long time with the ducheſs of Rohan her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the duke of Sully always gave a moſt gracious reception to the capuchins who viſited him, and had ſo great an eſteem for them, that during his laſt ſickneſs, and a few days before he died, he deſired to confer with ſome of theſe religious; but that, when they preſented themſelves for that purpoſe upon the bridge of the caſtle, the ducheſs of Sully gave orders that they ſhould not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

THIS lady employed her time in regulating the interior of her houſhold; in having leaſes drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always viſited the ſeveral eſtates of her huſband, when neceſſary. In her leiſure hours ſhe amuſed herſelf with working tapeſtry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is ſtill admired in ſome pieces of tapeſtry that remain in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either loſt or carried into other families.

THE works of the duke of Sully are more durable. Beſides all the other monuments of his liberality, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak, he has immortaliſed his memory by a great number of fine buildings in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the adminiſtration till his death, have procured all the roads in that province to have been made eaſy and commodious for travel-

ling. It was he who cauſed that magnificent bridge and cauſeway to be built at Châtelleraut, which is ſtill to be ſeen there.

THERE was ſcarce one of his eſtates, thoſe eſpecially which had caſtles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity, and a regard to the public good. He built moſt part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordſhip, which was diſtinguiſhed by the ſirname of Nogent Le-Rotrou, was by the prince of Condé's erecting it into a duchy, called D'Enguien; but, when it came into the poſſeſſion of the duke of Sully, it loſt both theſe names, and was called the earldom of Nogent-le-Bethune. He at firſt deſigned to carry on very conſiderable buildings in the caſtle of this city, but he met with ſo many obſtacles from the religious of St. Denis, that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Meſſieurs D'Eſtouteville, to whom that houſe had formerly belonged, had left it built only up to the firſt ſtory: he raiſed it and completed it after the model of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front preſents three ſets of chambers covered with ſlates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs, covered with lead, with pinnacles, and the battlements alternately round and pointed; the ſpouts are of the ſame metal with caſt cannon, and the inner ſpouts which receive thoſe of the corners of the houſe, are likewiſe of caſt metal, eight feet high, terminating in dolphins heads. The grand ſtaircaſe is extremely large and luminous. At the firſt ſtory is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt; as likewiſe the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanſhip. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greateſt part of their pannels. The park is encloſed with ſtone walls, and contains a great number of pools and re-

ſervoirs. The gardens, which join the houſe on three ſides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor, who offered themſelves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to ſupport in idleneſs, he made a pond about ſeven hundred and twenty yards long, and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out, he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the New Pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between theſe terraces and the canal, were two levels of turf, which the preſent duke of Sully has cut into ſquares, into graſs-plats and bowling-greens. All thoſe who offered were ſet to work indifferently, even to little children, ſome of whom did not carry, at a time, more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpoſe an infinite number of hand-carriages of all ſizes had been provided. To each of theſe poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread; at dinner-time a diſh of ſoop; and at ſupper-time another piece of bread: together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his houſe, coſt him fourſcore thouſand livres.

Every body knows that he built the caſtle of Roſny completely, ſurrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the ſhot croſſed each other in a ſurprizing manner; a thing very rare at that time. He raiſed that fine terrace which runs acroſs the ſea to a prodigious extent, and thoſe great gardens filled with groves and grottoes with water-works.

He embelliſhed Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the fineſt in the world; and with a canal, very long and very broad, which is ſupplied with freſh

freſh water by the little river of Sangle, which he turned that way, and which afterwards is loſt in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the baſons and fountains, of which the gardens are full. The machine is yet in being; but the water-works have been ſuffered to go to ruin. With regard to the caſtle, he had it covered with ſlates: he wainſcoted, painted, and gilt, almoſt all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which paſs from the little lodges, at the gate, to the main caſtle. The court-yard, and a ſecond court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewiſe his work. There are, in this ſecond court, ſeveral eminencies, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expence, which produced no good, and of which the effect is even diſagreeable, might ſurpriſe thoſe who do not know that the duke of Sully had no other way of ſupporting a multitude of poor people who demanded work in a time of ſcarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almoſt cloſe to the caſtle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own coſt, a very fine church covered with ſlate. I ſhall not mention ſeveral other works for which this city is obliged to him: among others, an hoſpital, which he founded there.

THE principal apartment of this caſtle, is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reaſon, the King's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince, in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largeſt in France, has a proſpect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the firſt ſize, upon a very fine ſorrel horſe. This is the moſt perfect, and the moſt like, of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved

carved work, and covered, both on the front and the ſides, with ſquares of painting, containing each an emblem or a device relating either to the king or the duke of Sully. One of theſe pieces has ſomething ſingular: it is in the front, where the ſun is repreſented caſting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, ſhining with extraordinary brightneſs; and lower yet, the earth, which ſeems obſcured by the great brightneſs of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto; and may be therefore ſuppoſed to contain ſomething myſterious.

THE duke of Sully likewiſe repaired and enlarged the caſtle of La-Chapelle D'Angillon, built by mademoiſelle D'Albert; he embelliſhed it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, ſurrounded with ſtone walls, which, though ſtrongly built, are now almoſt ruined by the negligence of his ſucceſſors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn ſtone, with pilaſters of brick and ſtone from ſpace to ſpace, which contributed at once to the ſtrength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean church, which the duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expence and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of La-Chapelle, of which he is conſidered not only as the lord, but as the founder.

THE caſtle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embelliſhments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the houſe, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built, and cut in the rock, the famous caſtle of Montrond, which was long conſidered as impregnable. The way to it was by a winding path, very broad, cut likewiſe in the rock; as were alſo the out-works of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and ſheltered againſt all violence from without. The prince

of

of Condé, as has been already ſhown, obliged the duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confuſion, was his principal fortreſs againſt the king, whoſe army was ſtopped by it eighteen months, and at laſt took it only by ſtratagem; after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place deſtroyed.

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

THE

THE TRIAL OF FRANCIS RAVAILLAC, FOR THE Murder of King HENRY IV. 1610.

INTERROGATORIES *exhibited to the accuſed of the murder of the late king, on the 17th of* May, 1610, *at the ſuit of the attorney-general, by* ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *firſt preſident*; NICOLAS POTIER, *preſident*; JOHN COURTIN *and* PROSPER BAVIN, *counſellors of our lord the king in his court of parliament, commiſſioners appointed by the ſaid court for that purpoſe.*

THE priſoner ſworn; and aſked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?

He ſaid, that his name was Francis Ravaillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one and thirty-two years of age.

He was aſked if he was married?

He anſwered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He anſwered, No.

How he had ſpent his youth? and to what he had applied himſelf?

He

He ſaid, that he had been employed in ſoliciting law-ſuits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law?

He ſaid, that he had ſolicited law-ſuits for fourteen years; that he lodged at the Rats, oppoſite to the Green pillar, in Harp-ſtreet, at a cobler's; and near the three pair of beads, in Calender-ſtreet.

How long he had been in this city the laſt journey?

He ſaid about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again?

He ſaid, Yes.

How far he had gone back?

He ſaid, he had gone beyond the town of d'Eſtampes, at the ſign of the *Ecce Homo*.

He was asked, what made him return?

He ſaid, a deſire to kill the king.

He was asked, what was his motive?

He anſwered, that among other reaſons there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman church.

He was asked, what other reaſons he had?

He anſwered, that he was come to this city to ſpeak to the king, and admoniſh him to bring back thoſe of the pretended reformed religion to the catholic church; and for that purpoſe he had been ſeveral times at the Louvre to meet with his majeſty; that he had been at madame d'Angoulême's, to get ſomebody to introduce him; and likewiſe at the houſe of the cardinal Du-Perron, to whom he never ſpoke, but only to his chaplains, whoſe names he could not tell, but ſhould know them if he ſaw them; that he ſpoke of it to father Daubigny, a jeſuit, in his laſt journey, which was before Chriſtmas; he ſpoke of it to the parſon of Saint Severin, and

and to the father of Saint-Mary-Magdalen, provincial of the feuillants.

It was asked him, where he ſpoke to father Daubigny?

He ſaid, he ſpoke to him in the church of Saint-Antony's-ſtreet, at the concluſion of maſs.

He was asked, at what time he talked to him?

He ſaid, that he ſet out from his own country thirteen days before Chriſtmas; that he was fourteen days coming to this city; that three or four days after his arrival, he went to the houſe of the Jeſuits near Saint-Antony's gate, where the ſaid father Daubigny ſaid maſs; after which, he deſired one of the lay-brothers to procure him the means of ſpeaking to the ſaid Daubigny; which he did; and he told him ſeveral viſions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permiſſion of his provincial Francis Mary Magdalen of the feuillants.

He was asked, why he uſed the expreſſion, *My provincial?*

He ſaid, becauſe the ſaid Mary Magdalen had received him as lay-brother at the feuillants.

It was asked, how long he had wore the habit of a feuillant? and why he had quitted it?

He ſaid, that he had worn it about ſix weeks; and they had taken it from him, becauſe he had viſions in his meditations.

On being asked again about it, he ſaid he had deſired it again, but it was refuſed him on account of the ſaid meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and ſaid, God had given him that habit, and his grief was, that they would not reſtore it to him.

He was asked, if he knew the ſuperior, and his name?

He ſaid, that he did not know him nor his name; but that he had asked for the habit again, only becauſe it being our Lord's pleaſure that he ſhould continue

tinue in the world, from which it was his wiſh to retire, he reſolved to ſerve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He ſaid, that he had a great deal of uneaſineſs, in not having ſtaid with the feuillants in the favour of God.

He was aſked, what viſions he had ſpoke of to father Daubigny?

He ſaid, that he had told him, that while he was a priſoner for debt at Angoulême he had viſions, repreſenting fire, ſulphur, and incenſe; and being releaſed from priſon, the Saturday after Chriſtmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his cuſtom, in bed, with his hands claſped, and his feet croſſed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with ſomething which he could not diſcern, becauſe it was midnight; and being in that ſtate, he felt in himſelf a deſire to ſing the Pſalms of David; he began the pſalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and ſung it thro'; and afterwards, *Miſerere*, and *De profundis*, at full length; and that it ſeemed to him, that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a ſound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day in the morning, as ſoon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he ſat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the ſticks yet on fire; and having finiſhed dreſſing himſelf, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the ſtick that had kept fire, and kneeling down upon the ground, ſet himſelf to blow it, when immediately, on both ſides of his face, both to the right and to the left, he ſaw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hoſts like thoſe which are uſed at the communion of catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right ſide of his mouth, he ſaw a roll of the ſame ſize with that which the prieſt elevates

elevates at the celebration of divine ſervice. Of this revelation he gave an account to father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was diſordered, told him, that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads, and pray to God: but that he was determined in his own mind to addreſs himſelf to ſome great man to ſpeak to the king.

It was enquired, if he had asked Daubigny whether, if he ſhould have viſions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confeſs them?

He anſwered, that he had ſaid nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpoſe was to ſpeak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended reformed religion, and convert them to the Roman catholic church.

It was asked, what Daubigny ſaid to this?

He ſaid, that he ſhould put all theſe things out of his head, ſay his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was asked, whether he had no other converſation with him? and whether he never ſaw him but that time?

He anſwered, No.

Why did he chuſe to addreſs himſelf to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He anſwered, that it was becauſe, when he was turned out of the feuillants, he had a mind to become a jeſuit, or to entreat him to ſpeak to his provincial to replace him among the feuillants; but that, not having found him the firſt time, one of the lay-brethren told him, that they never receive in their houſe thoſe who had been in another order.

He ſaid farther, that, not having been able to ſpeak to the king, he went back to the jeſuits to ſpeak a ſecond time to the ſaid Daubigny, and ſpoke to him as he has already ſaid, and ſhewed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a croſs, telling him, that the heart of the king ſhould be diſpoſed to make war againſt the huguenots.

He

He was aſked, what hindered him from ſpeaking to the king?

He ſaid, that it was the grand provoſt who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept priſoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He was asked to whom he had applied himſelf that he might ſpeak with the king;

He ſaid, to the archers, and they carried him to ſpeak to the provoſt, who told him that the king was ſick.

He was aſked, when he was at the Louvre?

He ſaid, that it was after Chriſtmas, and ſome two or three days afterwards he met his majeſty near St. Innocent's in his coach, and, deſiring to ſpeak to him, he cried out in theſe words: *Sire, I ſpeak to you in the name of our Lord Jeſus, and of the Holy Virgin*; but the king put him back with a little ſtick, and would not hear him. He then conſidered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for friar Gilles there, who had been formerly viſitor of the franciſcan friars in Paris, to whom he confeſſed his viſions and meditations, telling him, that he ſaw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic church: that the viſitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the firſt Sunday in Lent, he went to maſs at the monaſtery of the franciſcan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himſelf to God, made his confeſſion to a friar of the order, whoſe name he does not know, and in his confeſſion told the voluntary murder.

He was deſired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary?*

He ſaid, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheleſs, he did not tell his confeſſor, who did not deſire the meaning of thoſe words.

Upon being further queſtioned, he ſaid, that he then

then loſt that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he reſumed his intention.

He was asked, when he came to the city?

He ſaid, that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his ſetting out.

He was asked, how he had employed himſelf during his ſtay in Paris?

He ſaid, that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the ſuburbs St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the ſuburb St. Honore; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn, near the *quinze vingts*, but, there being too many gueſts there, he was refuſed; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refuſed a lodging, but becauſe it ſeemed to him a very fit one for the execution of his deſign, and he kept it for ſome days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He farther ſaid, that, having deſiſted from his intention, he ſet out upon his journey home, and went as far as Eſtampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife againſt a cart near the garden of Chanteloup, and, coming oppoſite to the *Ecce Homo*, of the ſuburb of Eſtampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer reſiſting the temptation as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that reſolution, becauſe the king did not convert the followers of the pretended reformation, and becauſe he had heard it reported, that the king intended to make war upon the pope, and transfer the ſeat of the holy ſee to Paris.

He was then asked, where he lodged? and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He ſaid, that he ſought for an opportunity to kill the king; and that, for this purpoſe, he ſharpened, with a ſtone, the point of the knife which had been broke, and waited till the queen was crowned, and came back to the city, ſuppoſing that there would not

not be ſo much confuſion in France, if he killed the king after the coronation, as if he had done it before.

He was told, that, ſince he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coronation, the ſaid coronation could not prevent the troubles which the king's death muſt neceſſarily bring along with it.

He ſaid, that he ſubmitted to the will of God.

He was asked, where he went to meet the king?

He ſaid, that he went to the Louvre, where he had been ſeveral times ſince he had reſolved upon killing him; that he went there laſt Wedneſday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as St. Innocent's, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not ſpeak to him; and obſerving that the coach was ſtopt by two carts, and that his majeſty turned his face and leaned towards that ſide where monſieur d'Epernon ſat, he ſtruck him twice in the ſide with his knife, paſſing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was asked, what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He ſaid, that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he asked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphin, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it.

We ſhewed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double edged at the point, with the handle made of a ſtag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the ſame with which he had ſtabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horſeback.

He was told, that he could have no reaſon for committing ſo wicked and traiterous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by ſome other perſon?

He ſaid, that no perſon whatever had incited him to

to do it, but the common diſcourſe among the ſoldiers, who ſaid, that if the king, who would not tell his deſign to any one, intended to make war upon the Holy Father, that they would not aſſiſt him, although they were to die for it; that for this cauſe he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, becauſe he made war againſt God, in as much as the pope is God, and God the pope.

He was asked, what time it was that he heard this diſcourſe amongſt the ſoldiers?

He ſaid, that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falſhood in declaring that to be the cauſe of his committing the parricide, becauſe he had ſaid before, that, having laid aſide his deſign of killing the king, he ſet out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Eſtampes, he reſumed that deſign, upon the diſcourſe of the ſoldiers.

He anſwered, that he had ſpoke to them before, notwithſtanding which he had altered his intention; but, when he came to Eſtampes, he reſumed it, upon remembering what the ſoldiers had ſaid to him.

He deſired us to ſhew him a paper which he had about him at the time he was ſeized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each ſide; one holding a key, the other a ſword. We ſhewed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the ſame which he had brought with him from Angoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was asked, whether, when he was at the houſe of a man whoſe name was Beliard, he had heard the ſaid Beliard ſay, that the pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holineſs, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him.

He ſaid, Yes; and alſo that his majeſty had anſwered, that it was his predeceſſors who had placed the popes upon the throne; and that, if the Holy Father ſhould excommunicate him, he would diſpoſſeſs

poſſeſs him of it; whereupon he reſolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote theſe two lines over the lions:

Ne ſouffre pas qu'on en ta preſence
Au nom de Dieu aucunne irreverence.

"Do not ſuffer the name of God to be prophaned in thy preſence."

He was aſked, whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the ſame handle that it has now?

He ſaid, No: that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broke, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whoſe name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the ſuburbs of St. James, and deſired him to put a handle of horn upon it; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was asked, if this Beliard was one of the pretended reformed religion?

He ſaid, No; that he was a catholic: nevertheleſs he held that diſcourſe with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told, that he ought not to have taken ſo wicked and abominable a reſolution upon the diſcourſe of one man only.

He ſaid, he had taken a reſolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man ſay, but alſo upon the diſcourſe of the ſoldiers at Paris, and that of the ſieur de St. Gorges, among others, who ſaid, that, if the king would make war upon the Holy Father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to anſwer for it.

We ſhewed him a heart of coſt-mary root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him; and he ſaid, it had been given him by monſieur Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, ſaying, that there was within it a little bit of wood

of the real Holy Croſs, conſecrated by the capuchin friars, which had that virtue; and for that purpoſe he had ſent Mary Moſeau, his landlady, to the capuchins for it, and ever ſince he had wore it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his preſence; but there was no wood to be found in the inſide.

Upon which he ſaid, that it was not him who was deceived, but the perſon who gave it him.

We ſhewed him a pair of beads, which, he ſaid, he had bought in St. James's-ſtreet ſeven or eight days ago; that he had ſaid his prayers with them, and wore them ever ſince conſtantly.

He was aſked, what perſons he kept company with after he had reſumed his intention to kill the king?

He ſaid, he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the dominican friars, whither he uſed to go to hear maſs and veſpers.

He was asked, what diſcourſe he had with them? and if he had ſpoke to them of his viſions?

He ſaid, that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was asked, if he was acquainted with a man whoſe name was Colletet? and what diſcourſe they had together?

He ſaid, that he knew him only by lodging in the ſame room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not ſpoke to him of his deſign.

He was asked, if he had any diſcourſe with any other friars?

He ſaid, not in this laſt journey.

If he had any diſcourſe with a franciſcan friar of Angoulême?

He ſaid, Yes: but that he had not ſpoke to him of his enterpriſe, and of his imaginations.

He was told, that he did not ſay the truth; for that he had ſpoke to him of his imaginations, asking

his opinion whether he, who had ſuch imaginations, ought to declare them to his confeſſor?

To this he anſwered, that he had not ſpoke to a franciſcan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de La-Royire, with whom he joined company; and, becauſe he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admiſſion into the convent, that he alſo carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le-Febure.

It was obſerved to him, that, during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had asked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it, was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was ſo ſlight, that he muſt certainly have been prompted to it by ſome one who was concerned in the ſucceſs of that miſerable ſtroke, of which we feel the effects.

He ſaid, that, ſince he has been under confinement, he had been urged by ſeveral perſons to make his confeſſion, and even by the archbiſhop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no perſon whatever, but by his own deſires; and that, however he might be tormented, he ſhould never ſay any thing elſe; that, if torments could have forced him to confeſs, he had ſuffered ſufficiently by the torture which a huguenot of his own private authority gave him, when he kept him priſoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broke.

He was told, that he had been choſe to commit this action as a proper inſtrument of miſchief; he whoſe whole life had been wicked, and who had begun with uſing a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He ſaid, that it would not be found ſo; and that his father and mother, who were ſtill living, would

witneſs the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accuſed and condemned for it, but it was by falſe witneſſes; for he was innocent.

He was asked, when he was at Bruſſels?

He ſaid, that he never was out of the kingdom; and that he did not know where Bruſſels is.

The examination being read to the ſaid Ravaillac, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

The examination taken next morning, at the palace, by us the commiſſioners, the firſt preſident being ſick.

THE priſoner being ſent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was asked, what was his rank and condition? and if he had a father or mother alive?

He ſaid, that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himſelf in inſtructing youth; and that his father is likewiſe a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is ſeparated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, without adding or diminiſhing any thing, except only that he omitted ſaying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commiſſion of that crime, becauſe the king would not permit juſtice to be done upon the huguenots, for the attempt they made laſt Chriſtmas to murder all the catholics, for which attempt many of the huguenots had been taken priſoners, and brought into this city; yet he had been told, by ſeveral perſons, were not puniſhed.

He was told, that it was falſe; and that although he had heard it, he ſhould not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed ſo wicked and abominable.

He ſaid, that this was one of his circumſtances which helped to ſtrengthen the temptation.

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He was told, that it was the advice and inſtruction of others which ſtrengthened it.

He ſaid, that no one was engaged in the deſign but himſelf.

He was asked, if he lived in the ſame country with his father and mother?

He ſaid, that he lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him nor his mother.

He was asked, how he maintained himſelf?

He ſaid that he had eighty ſcholars, and that, with what he gained from them, he ſupported himſelf in the journeys he had made to this city?

He was asked, if his father and mother obſerved his conduct?

He ſaid, that his father had not lived with them theſe ſix years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his ſiſters having likewiſe left her.

He was asked, what means he had of living?

He ſaid, that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himſelf upon what he gained from his ſcholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another fleſh, another corn, wine, &c. and by what his friends furniſhed him with.

He was asked, who were his friends?

He ſaid, that they were the fathers and mothers of his ſcholars.

He was asked, why he did not ſtay in his own country, ſince he could get a livelyhood there?

He ſaid, that he thought he ſhould prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told, that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He ſaid, that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a puniſhment to him for his ſins.

He was asked, if he was not filled with horror at the commiſſion of an act ſo abominable, and of ſo fatal conſequence to all France?

He ſaid, that he was ſorry for having committed it, but that ſince it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity, and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to ſave him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told, that he could not be in the grace of God, after having committed ſo wicked an action.

He ſaid, that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him ſuffer for it.

He was told, that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unleſs he acknowledged the truth, and declared who the perſons were who had incited and perſuaded him to ſo wicked a deed.

He ſaid, that his only reaſon for committing it was, what he had declared before at his examination.

He was asked, if he had imparted his intention to any one,

He ſaid, that he had not to any perſon whatever.

He was told, that he was too mean and inconſiderable a perſon to have conceived ſuch a deſign, and that he muſt have been adviſed and ſupported by others.

He ſaid, that no perſon adviſed him.

He was told, that he was ſo much the more wicked, if he undertook ſuch an enterprize without being adviſed to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his adviſers.

To this he anſwered, that the reaſon why he did not declare this pernicious intention to prieſts, and men who have the care of ſouls, was, that he was well aſſured if he had diſcloſed to them his deſign of killing the king, it was their duty to ſeize his perſon, and put him into the hands of juſtice; ſince whenever the public is concerned, prieſts are obliged to reveal all confeſſions; for this reaſon therefore he would not open himſelf to any perſon, through a

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fear that he might be puniſhed with death, as well, for his intention of killing the king, as if he had really done it, for which he asked pardon of God.

He was told, that the church commands, that all evil thoughts ſhould be revealed in confeſſion, and to neglect it is a deadly ſin.

He ſaid, that he acknowledged this.

He was told, that he had mentioned it.

He ſaid, he had not.

He was asked, if he had ſpoken of it to a franciſcan friar?

He ſaid, No.

He was told, that he did not ſpeak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a franciſcan friar, asking him, whether, if a man had ſtrange viſions, ſuch as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confeſſion?

He ſaid, that it was true he had conſulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was asked, who it was that he conſulted?

He ſaid, a young franciſcan friar, named Le-Febure, to whom he put this queſtion, Wether if a man was aſſaulted with a temptation, ſuch as to kill a king, and ſhould confeſs it to the penitentiary, he ſhould be under a neceſſity of revealing it? but being interrupted by another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the caſe that he put to him.

He was told, that he did not ſay the truth, and that the franciſcan did make him an anſwer; and he was asked, if he would believe the franciſcan if he owned it?

He ſaid, that he would not believe him; but that it was his opinion, that if the friar had given him an anſwer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would not give him an anſwer; neither did he,

the accuſed, propoſe the queſtion to him, as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it ſhould happen to any man.

He was told, that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He ſaid, that it was very unlikely that he ſhould do ſo; that he had applied, as well to lay-men as to others, even to an equerry belonging to queen Margaret, whoſe name was De-Ferrare; he declared his viſions to him, and intreated him to procure him an opportunity to ſpeak to the king; that the equerry anſwered, he muſt firſt have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to ſpeak to the king: to which he, the accuſed, made anſwer, that he thought he was good enough to ſpeak to the king. He added, that probably if he had ſpoke to his majeſty, he would have loſt his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the ſecretary of madame de Angoulême, who told him that the king was ſick; yet he went again to the houſe of the cardinal Du-Perron, where he had the anſwer he formerly repeated, That he would do better to return to his own houſe.

He was told, that it was good counſel, and he ought to have followed it.

He ſaid, that it was true, but he was ſo weakened by his ſins that he had no power over himſelf; and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told, that the devil made uſe of others to tempt him.

He ſaid, that no man had ever ſpoke to him on the ſubject.

He was told, that he could not hope for the grace of God, unleſs he diſcharged his conſcience.

He ſaid, that he had ſome fears, but he alſo had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told, that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He ſaid, that if he had been employed by any one

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in France, or by a foreigner, and ſhould be ſo abandoned by God as to die without declaring it; he ſhould not believe that he would be ſaved, or that there would be any paradiſe for him, becauſe *abiſſus abiſſum*, &c. as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyſs of ſins leads into others; that it was to double his crime, that the king, more eſpecially the queen, the whole houſe of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, ſhould, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, ſuſpecting unjuſtly, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, of their ſubjects; none of whom, he believed, were ſo imprudent, as to entertain a thought of being diſloyal to their princes.

He was told, that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had perſuaded him to the crime.

He ſaid, that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever adviſed, perſuaded, or ſpoke to him on this ſubject; neither had he, the accuſed, ever mentioned it to any one: he was not ſo wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cauſe that what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the pope.

He was told, that this was a falſe pretence.

He ſaid, that he was very ſorry for what he had done, and that he earneſtly begged of every one to lay aſide their ſuſpicions of his having been ſet on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill-will, ſince he alone was guilty.

He was asked, if he had ever been in ſervice?

He ſaid, that he had ſerved the late monſieur Roſieres, a counſellor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewiſe with ſome attorneys, whoare now dead.

He was asked, if he had ever ſerved any nobleman, as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He ſaid, that he had not; but when he lived with counſellor Roſieres, as his clerk, he likewiſe ſerved him as a valet de chambre.

He was asked, if he had ſeen the coronation laſt Tueſday, and if he had followed the king?

He ſaid, he had not.

He was aſked, if he had been on the road to Saint-Denis?

He ſaid, not this laſt journey, but at Chriſtmas laſt, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was aſked, if he had been there laſt week?

He ſaid, he had not gone farther than Saint-Jean-en-Greve, and le Pont Notre-Dame.

He was aſked, if he had any magical characters about him? and who had given them to him?

He ſaid, he ſhould have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name,

RAVAILLAC.

Underneath which he wrote theſe lines:

Que toujours en mon cœur
Jeſus ſoit le vainqueur.

"In my heart let Jeſus be always conqueror."

Father James Daubigny, prieſt of the college of jeſuits, was this day ſent for into court by us the commiſſioners, in the preſence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowledged the oaths they had taken.

The ſaid Ravaillac acknowledged, that the ſaid father Daubigny was the perſon whom he had heard ſay maſs ſome time after laſt Chriſtmas, in their church in Saint Antony's ſtreet; that having been told he was the friend of father Mary Magdalen the feuillant, he went to ſeek him, to intreat him to procure

procure his admiſſion into that order; that after maſs was over, he ſpoke to him by means of a lay brother, and declared to him, that he had great viſions and imaginations, importing, that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended reformation; and that he ſhewed the ſaid Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a croſs; believing, that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the Catholic and Roman church.

The ſaid Daubigny replied, that all this was falſe, and that he had never ſeen the ſaid Ravaillac.

The ſaid Ravaillac anſwered, by the ſame token you gave me a penny, which you asked of one that was near you.

To this the ſaid Daubigny anſwered, that the priſoner was a very bad man: and after having committed ſo wicked an action, he had ſins enough to anſwer for, without being the cauſe of an hundred thouſand others, which might be committed.

The priſoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make to father Daubigny, he muſt make them immediately.

He ſaid that he had none; that he looked upon the ſaid father Daubigny to be an honeſt man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner, the ſaid Daubigny being told of the ordinance, that he muſt make his objections to the priſoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received.

He ſaid, that he had nothing elſe to ſay, but that the priſoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered ſeveral falſhoods.

The examination of the ſaid Daubigny being read in the preſence of the ſaid Ravaillac, he, the ſaid Daubigny, perſiſted in his anſwers, and declared that they were true.

But the ſaid Ravaillac declared, that he had ſpoke to the ſaid Daubigny; that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in priſon making his meditations, by permiſſion of father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had ſent forth a ſtench of ſulphur and fire; which were proofs of the exiſtence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had viſions of the ſacred hoſts on each ſide of his face, having before ſung the pſalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all thoſe circumſtances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination: and that the ſaid Daubigny ſaid to him, in anſwer, that he, the ſaid Ravaillac, ought to apply to ſome great men to admoniſh the king: however, ſince he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion, that thoſe viſions he ſpoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a diſordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good ſoop, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the ſaid Daubigny replied, that theſe were all dreams and lies.

We have cauſed the queſtions that were put to the ſaid Ravaillac concerning the ſaid Daubigny, with his anſwers, to be read to him in the preſence of Daubigny, the ſaid Ravaillac perſiſted in his anſwers, and declared that they were true.

The ſaid Daubigny replied, that all which the ſaid Ravaillac had depoſed againſt him was falſe, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this, Ravaillac, being farther queſtioned, replied, that he had never ſeen the ſaid Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they perſiſted in their anſwers, and ſigned their names.

The

The examination taken on the 19th of the ſaid month of May, in the morning, at the palace, by us the commiſſioners.

THE ſaid Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath taken, he was required to declare, who thoſe perſons were that had prompted him to ſo wicked an undertaking.

He ſaid, that all which now remained for him to declare was, his intention and earneſt deſire to free himſelf from the load of his ſins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were deſirous of aggrandiſing themſelves, as was too common among the kings, and great potentates of the earth, who do not conſider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God; or elſe through a covetous deſire of appropriating unjuſtly to themſelves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the priſoner, had not been incited to that action by any perſon whatever; for if he could have been ſo wicked as to have committed it for money, for the intereſt of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the preſence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth: that he therefore intreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his ſoul with the crime they commit, in ſuppoſing that he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this ſin would fall heavy on him the priſoner, for being the cauſe of the uncertainty they were in which gave riſe to their ſuſpicions: and he therefore emplored them to lay thoſe ſuſpicions aſide, ſince no one but himſelf was able to judge of the fact, and it was ſuch as he had confeſſed.

It was remonſtrated to him, that, ſince he had neither been injured in his perſon or goods by any command or ordinance of the king's, it was not probable

probable he would make an attempt upon his ſacred perſon, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unleſs he had been perſuaded to it by ſome other perſons, and had received money from them; he being a poor man, in want of the neceſſaries of life, and the ſon of parents who lived upon alms.

He ſaid, that it is ſufficiently proved to the court through the courſe of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the perſuaſions of perſons who were ambitious of the ſcepter of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expreſsly from Angoulême to Paris, which was an hundred leagues diſtant from each other, to admoniſh the king to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church, as being perſons who acted contrary to the will of God and his church; for a man who could be ſo wicked as to ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted through avarice, to aſſaſſinate his prince, would not have come three ſeveral times to admoniſh him as he had done; and that, ſince he had committed this parricide, the ſieur de La-Force, captain of the guards, has acknowledged that he, the priſoner, had been at the Louvre, and earneſtly entreated him to procure the means of ſpeaking to the king; and that the ſaid ſieur de La-Force told him he was a furious papiſt, aſking him if he knew monſieur D'Epernon; to which he, the priſoner, replied, that he did know monſieur D'Epernon, and that he himſelf was not a furious papiſt; but that, when he had taken the habit in the monaſtery of St. Bernard, father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his ſpiritual father; and, ſince he was a true roman, and apoſtolic catholic, he was deſirous of living and dying ſuch: and he intreated the ſaid ſieur de La-force to bring him to the ſpeech of the king; for he durſt not declare to him the temptation he had ſo long to kill the king; all he wanted was to tell it to his majeſty,

jesty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with his bad intention.

He was asked, whether, when he took those journeys to advise the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended reformation, he designed, in case his majesty had not complied with his desires, to have committed the wicked act he had done?

He said, he did not intend it in that case; for he should have laid aside his design, and have thought it was better to make him that remonstrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him, that he had not changed his wicked intention, since, after his last journey from Angoulême, in Easter, he had not sought for an opportunity to speak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a resolution to do what he had done.

He said it was true.

He was asked, if, from Easter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy communion.

He said, he had not; and that he received it the first Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheless, caused the holy sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated in St. Paul's church at Angoulême, which was his parish church, as acknowledging himself unworthy of the most holy and august sacrament, full of mystery and incomprehensible virtue, because he was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not in such a state approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him, that, since he perceived he was not worthy of that mystery which he called incomprehensible, he could not assist with any devotion at that holy sacrifice celebrated by the priest, of which all christians participate, receiving spiritually that which he who consecrates receives actually.

To this he was silent. He continued some time pensive

penſive and in thought, and then ſaid, that he did not know well what to anſwer to their remonſtrance; afterwards he ſaid, that he remembered that it was his great affection for the moſt holy ſacrament of the altar, which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he ſhould participate of the communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that ſacrifice; becauſe he was always of opinion, that ſhe was more pious, and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he ſhed many tears.

He was told, that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in the holy communion and ſacrifice of the maſs, ſince he had, for a long time, been under the influence of the devil, and been accuſtomed to invoke demons, whom he cauſed to appear to him, when he lodged in this city, about four years ago.

He ſaid that he never had invoked demons.

He was aſked if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges? and whether they lodged together in this city, and lay in the ſame chamber?

He ſaid he did know him; that they lodged together at the ſign of the Rats, oppoſite the Green Pillar in Harp-ſtreet.

He was aſked, if he would believe what the ſaid Dubois ſhould ſay?

He ſaid, Yes, he would believe him.

He was aſked, whether, as he lay in bed with the ſaid Dubois, he did not uſe ſome magical incantation invoking the demons? and in what manner?

He ſaid, that this was ſo far from being true, that he did not even lie in the ſame chamber with the ſaid Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the ſaid Dubois, lay: that about midnight, the ſaid Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earneſtly entreated him, ſeveral times, to come down to him; ſaying, Ravaillac, my friend, come down; and crying aloud, My God, have mercy upon me: that thereupon he, the priſoner, would have gone down

to

to him to know why he cried out for help in ſuch a manner, but he was hindered by ſome perſons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the ſaid Dubois: but that he the priſoner going down to Dubois, ſome time afterwards, he told him, that he had ſeen a black dog of a monſtrous ſize, and very terrible, which came and laid its two fore-paws upon the bed; and that the terror this viſion threw him into made him utter thoſe cries, and entreat that he, the priſoner, would come into his room, and ſtay with him; upon which he the priſoner adviſed the ſaid Dubois to have recourſe to the celebration of the holy ſacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible viſions, and to cauſe maſs to be ſaid the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the franciſcan friars, and cauſed the holy maſs to be ſaid, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preſerve them from the incurſions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him, that it was not at all probable that the ſaid Dubois ſhould have called to him, who lay ſo high; or that he ſhould have heard his voice.

He anſwered, that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to aſcend; but that, ſince the court would not believe him, the truth of what he ſaid would be atteſted by thoſe perſons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the ſaid Dubois; that they were his landlady, Mary Moiſeau, and a couſin of hers, named John Le-blond, who came into his room on account of the great noiſe they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the ſaid Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told, that he had no deſire to get rid of his temptation, and therefore would not receive the communion on Eaſter-day, leſt it ſhould have the power to divert him from his purpoſe.

He ſaid that his reaſon for not receiving the communion

munion was, that he had on Eaſter-day, taken a reſolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a deſire to hear the holy maſs before he ſet out, believing that the ſacrament, which his mother received that day, would be ſufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both ſexes, by good men ſeculars, and others in the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them, he might be made partaker of it, as believing himſelf a member of one only Jeſus Chriſt.

He was told, that, having reſolved upon ſo wicked an act, he was in the ſtate of mortal ſin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God, and the communion of good chriſtians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good catholic and chriſtian, as he would be thought to be.

He ſaid that he did not, in the leaſt, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the emotions of his own mind, againſt the will of God, the author of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies: but that now, through the remonſtrance of the court, he acknowledged that he neither could not or would not reſiſt that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without ſuppreſſing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remiſſion of his ſins, he being more powerful to ſave him, provided he made confeſſion and received abſolution, than men were to hurt him; and that

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he beſeeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monſieur St. Peter, Monſieur St. Francis, (here he wept) Monſieur St. Bernard, and all the celeſtial court of Paradiſe, to be his advocates and interceſſors with the moſt ſacred majeſty, to the end that he might interpoſe his croſs between his ſoul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made a partaker of the merits of our Saviour Chriſt's paſſion, moſt humbly beſeeching him that he would give him grace to continue aſſociated with the merits of all thoſe treaſures he gave to the apoſtolic power on earth, when he ſaid, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

His examination being read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

On the 27th of May, 1610, *in the Morning at the Palace.*

The Confrontation of the Witneſſes before us, ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *Knight, firſt Preſident*; NICHOLAS POTIER, *Preſident*; PROSPER BAVIN *and* JOHN COURTIN, *Counſellors*, &c.

PAUL Noſter, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the priſoner; both of them acknowledged the oath they had taken.

The accuſed ſaid, that the witneſs was the perſon who took him priſoner, and the witneſs, that the accuſed was the priſoner whom he took.

The priſoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make againſt the witneſs, he muſt make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He ſaid, that he had none.

The depoſition of the witneſs being read to him, he perſiſted in it; and the priſoner acknowledging that it was true, they both ſigned it.

The priſoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Eſq; of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

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The priſoner was then confronted with Jerome de La-Robye, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner was confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner ſaid, that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the perſon who ſeized him after he committed the act; and, being put in mind of the ordinance, he ſaid he had no objection to make to him.

The priſoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner acknowledged, that what he ſaid was true; but that it was by his advice that the witneſs had been to hear maſs at the convent of the franciſcan friars, at which he likewiſe was preſent

They both ſigned their names.

May 27th, 1610, *the Court ſat in the Afternoon in the Chamber de* LA-BEUVETTE.

WE the preſidents, and ſeveral of the counſellors being preſent, the priſoner, Francis Ravaillac, was brought into court, who having been accuſed and convicted of parricide committed of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the ſentence of death given againſt him; as likewiſe that he ſhould be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himſelf from the torments preparing for him, by acknowleging the truth, and declaring who thoſe perſons were that had perſuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that moſt wicked action, and to whom he had diſcloſed his intention of committing it.

He

He ſaid, by the ſalvation I hope for, no one but myſelf was concerned in this action.

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin *, and the firſt wedge being drove, he cried out, "God have mercy upon my ſoul, "and pardon the crime I have committed; I never "diſcloſed my intentions to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

When the ſecond wedge was drove, he ſaid with loud cries and ſhrieks, "I am a ſinner, I know "no more than I have declared, by the oath I have "taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and "the court: all I have ſaid was to the little fran-"ciſcan, which I have already declared: I never "mentioned my deſign in confeſſion or any other "way: I never ſpoke of it to the viſitor of Angou-"lême, nor revealed it in confeſſion in this city. "I beſeech the court not to drive my ſoul to "deſpair."

The executioner continuing to drive the ſecond wedge, he cried out, "My God, receive this "penance as an expiation for the great crimes I "have committed in this world: Oh God! accept "theſe torments in ſatisfaction for my ſins. By the "faith I owe to God, I know no more than what "I have declared. Oh! do not drive my ſoul to "deſpair."

The third wedge was then drove lower near his feet, at which an univerſal ſweat covered his body, and he fainted away. The executioner forced ſome wine into his mouth, but he could not ſwallow it; and, being quite ſpeechleſs, he was releaſed from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and hands. Some wine being forced down his throat,

† The brodequin is a ſtrong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, juſt big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal which being put therein, a wooden wedge is then drove with a mallet between his knees, and after that is forced quite through, a ſecond wedge of a larger ſize, is applied in the ſame manner.

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his ſpeech returned, and he was laid upon a mattraſs in the ſame place, where he continued till noon. When he recovered his ſtrength, he was conducted to chapel by the executioner; and meſſieurs Filleſaſqs, and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being ſent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divines entered into a conference with him, the clerk admoniſhed him to think of his ſalvation, and confeſs by whom he had been prompted, perſuaded, and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and ſo long deſigned to commit; it not being probable, that he ſhould of himſelf have conceived and executed it, without communicating it to any other.

He ſaid, that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this caſe he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done, if he had any farther confeſſion to make. He ſaid he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil; that he entreated the king, the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom to pardon him, and to cauſe prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the puniſhment for his ſoul. And being many times admoniſhed to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had ſaid before. He was then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was ſent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to ſend for him, that he might hear and ſign his confeſſion, which he deſired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confeſſion the ſaid doctors declared to have been, That no one had been concerned with him in the act

act he had committed; That he had not been ſolicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other perſon whatever, nor had diſcovered his deſign to any one; That he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was ſtill greater than his ſins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed any thing.

Hereupon the clerk aſked the condemned, if he was willing that his confeſſion ſhould be known and revealed? and, as above, admoniſhed him to acknowledge the truth for the ſalvation of his ſoul. He then declared upon his oath, that he had ſaid all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was carrying out of the Conciergerie, the priſoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him Traitor, Wicked Wretch, Deteſtable monſter, Damned Villain, and the like; they would have ſtruck him, had they not been hindered by the archers, and the other officers of juſtice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbril, the crowd was ſo great, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the archers and officers of juſtice could force themſelves a paſſage; and as ſoon as the priſoner appeared, that vaſt multitude began to cry out, as above, Wicked Wretch, Traitor, &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and execrations till he arrived at the Greve; where, before he was taken out of the tumbril to mount the ſcaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he perſiſted in his former declaration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the young king, the queen, and the whole kingdom for the crime he had committed.

When he had aſcended the ſcaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of

their

their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his ſalvation now at the cloſe of his life, and to confeſs all he knew; to which he only anſwered as he had done before.

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had ſtabbed the king, he cried out, *O God!* and often repeated, *Jeſu Marie!* while his breaſt, &c. were tearing with red hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admoniſhed to acknowledge the truth, he perſiſted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's reſpite. Afterwards by intervals, melted lead and ſcalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he ſhrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admoniſhed him, as likewiſe the clerk, to confeſs, and were preparing to offer up publickly the uſual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and diſorder, cried out againſt it, ſaying, that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monſter. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonſtrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he perſiſted to anſwer as formerly, ſaying, I only was concerned in the murder.

He was then drawn by four horſes, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again queſtioned and admoniſhed, he perſiſted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a diſtance, continued their exclamations, in token of their great grief for the loſs of their king. Several perſons ſet themſelves to pull the ropes with the utmoſt eagerneſs; and one of the nobleſſe, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horſe, that it might

might be put in the place of one that was tired with drawing him. At length, when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horſes, without being diſmembred, the people ruſhing on in crowds, threw themſelves upon him, and with ſwords, knives, ſticks, and other weapons, they ſtruck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the ſtreets with the utmoſt eagerneſs and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May the twenty-firſt, 1610.

THE jailor cauſed the court to be informed, that he had heard the priſoner ſay ſomething of conſequence; upon which he was ſent for, and the oath being adminiſtred to him,

He ſaid, That the evening before, carrying the priſoner's ſupper to him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being preſent, he aſked the priſoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? to which the priſoner replied, that he was ſitting in the hall among the footmen: and he being aſked, why he committed ſuch an action? the priſoner anſwered, "Becauſe "of a great—— but I will not tell you, but I "will tell the court to-morrow; and I could not "help doing it, as I ſhall prove by my body."

Then . . . . . archer of the provoſt of l'Hôtel, being ſent for, the oath was adminiſtred to him.

He repeated what the jailor had ſaid, adding, that the priſoner ſaid, his mother had a mark like his; for which reaſon he could not avoid doing what he did; and that perceiving the king's coach to ſtop, he ſaw a viſion, which ſaid to him, *Now is the time.*

Then was heard upon oath . . . . . archer likewiſe of the provoſt of l'Hôtel.

He alſo repeated what the jailor had ſaid, adding, that the priſoner ſaid, he was under a neceſſity of committing that action, by a mark which he and

his mother had, that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

Sentence of Death againſt Francis Ravaillac, *May* 28, 1610.

Extracted from the Regiſters of the Parliament.

THE court conſiſting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being aſſembled, and having ſeen the criminal proceedings, formed by the preſidents and counſellors in that behalf, appointed by commiſſion, at the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, againſt Francis Ravaillac, a practitioner of the law, of the city of Angoulême, priſoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as alſo the information made againſt him, the interrogatories, confeſſions, anſwers, and croſs-examinations of witneſſes, and the ſtate of the caſe by the king's attorney general; and the ſaid Ravaillac having been heard and examined by the ſaid court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal proceſs of the interrogatories adminiſtred to him on the rack; which, by order of the ſaid court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for diſcovery of his accomplices: On conſideration of the whole,

The ſaid court hath declared, and doth declare, the ſaid Ravaillac duly attainted of the crime of high-treaſon, divine and human, in the higheſt degree, for the moſt wicked, moſt abominable, and moſt deteſtable parricide, committed on the perſon of the late king Henry IV. of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende-honorable*, before the principal gate of the church of Paris, whither he ſhall be carried and drawn in a tumbril in his ſhirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pound weight, and that he ſhall there ſay and declare, that wickedly and traiterouſly he hath

hath committed the aforeſaid moſt wicked, moſt abominable, and moſt deteſtable parricide, and murdered the ſaid lord the king, by ſtabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the ſame, and begs pardon of God, the king and the laws: from thence he ſhall be carried to the Greve, and, on a ſcaffold to be there erected, the fleſh ſhall be torn to pieces with red-hot pincers from his breaſts, his arms and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand holding the knife wherewith he committed the aforeſaid parricide, ſhall be ſcorched and burned with flaming brimſtone; and on the places where the fleſh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, ſcalding pitch, with wax and brimſtone melted together, ſhall be poured: after this, he ſhall be torn in pieces by four horſes, his limbs and body burnt to aſhes, and diſperſed in the air. His goods and chattels are alſo declared to be forfeited and confiſcated to the king. And it is further ordained, that the houſe in which he was born ſhall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previouſly indemnified) and that no other building ſhall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof; and that within fifteen days after the publication of this preſent ſentence, his father and mother ſhall by ſound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be baniſhed out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and ſtrangled, without any farther form or proceſs at law. The court has alſo forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, ſiſters, uncles and others, from henceforth to bear the ſaid name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to ſome other, under the like penalties; and ordering the ſubſtitute of the king's attorney-general to cauſe this preſent ſentence to be publiſhed and carried into execution, under pain of being anſwerable for the ſame; and before the execution thereof, the court

doth order, that the ſaid Ravaillac ſhall again undergo the torture for the diſcovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the
27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN.

Extract from the Regiſters of Parliament.

THE court conſiſting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being aſſembled, and proceeding to judgment on the criminal proceſs extraordinary, formed at the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the *moſt wicked, moſt cruel, and moſt deteſtable parricide* committed on the ſacred perſon of the late king Henry IV. and having thereupon heard the king's ſaid attorney-general; hath ordered, and doth order, that at the inſtance of the dean and ſyndic of the faculty of divinity, the ſaid faculty ſhall be aſſembled, as ſoon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the ſaid faculty of the 13th of December 1413, and the reſolution founded on the opinion of one hundred and forty-one doctors of the ſaid faculty, ſince confirmed by the council of Conſtance, *That it is not lawful for any one, whoever he be, to make any attempt on the ſacred perſons of kings, and other ſovereign princes.* The ſaid decree thereon to be made by the ſaid aſſembly, ſhall be ſubſcribed by all the doctors of the ſaid faculty, who ſhall have been preſent at the ſaid deliberations; and alſo by all the bachelors, who are members of the body of divinity; which ſaid decree being communicated to the ſaid attorney-general, and produced to this court, ſuch order ſhall be made thereon as reaſon ſhall require.

Done in parliament, May, 27. 1610.

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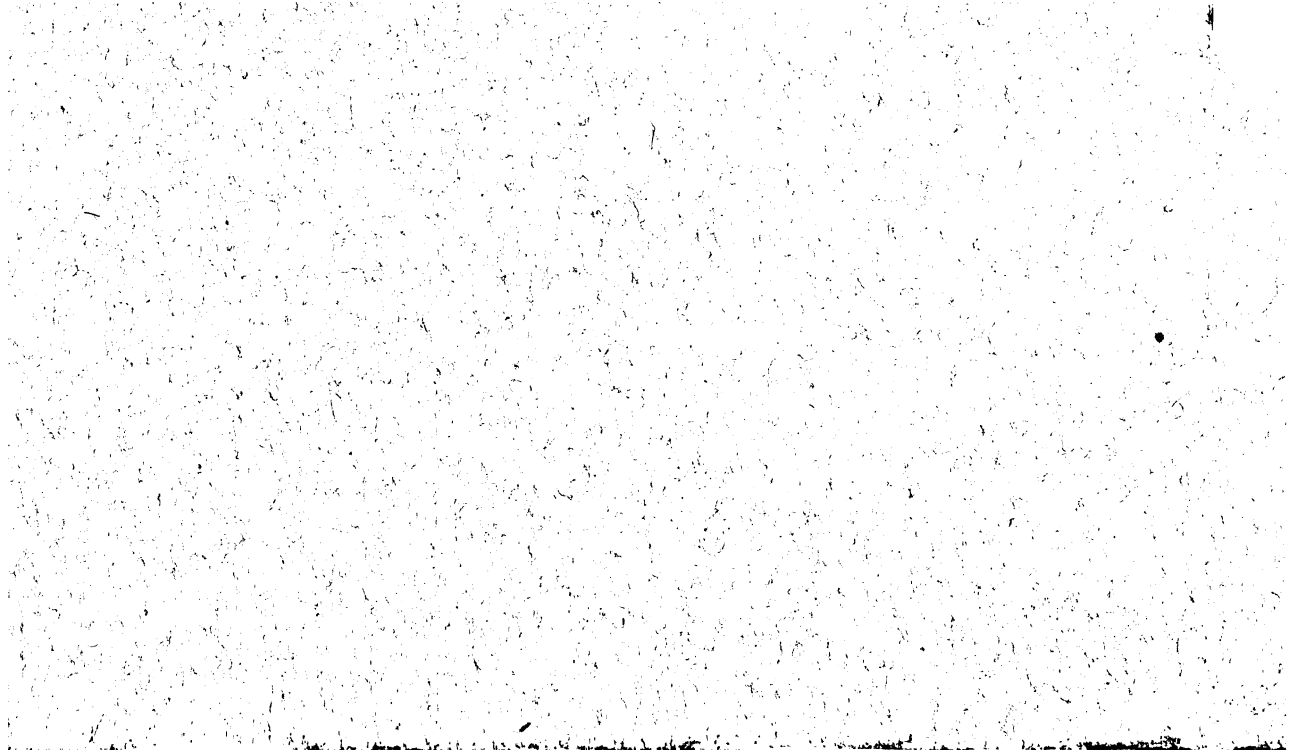
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